THE CERTAINTY

OF THE

# WORLD OF SPIRITS

FULLY EVINCED,

BY

RICHARD BAXTER,

AUTHOR OF THE SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST.

*To which is added,*

## THE WONDERS

OF THE

## *INVISIBLE WORLD,*

BY

COTTON MATHER, D. D. & F. R. S.

The former taken from the Edition published by Mr. Baxter, 1691, a few months before his death.

The latter from the Ecclesiastical History of New England, published 1702.

WITH A PREFACE BY THE EDITOR.

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*Speaking of Ghosts, &c. Dr. Johnson observed:—"this is a question which, after five thousand years, is still undecided:—a question, whether in Theology or Philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding."*

—BOSWELL'S LIFE OF JOHNSON.

# PREFACE.

In an age like the present, when the glorious light of the gospel, the life of faith, and the wonders of the invisible world, are neglected or despised ;--when a base and spurious philosophy has usurped an uncontrolled empire over the minds of men, and "science, falsely so called," has puffed them up with a high conceit of superior wisdom, an attempt to drag from obscurity the treasures of former times, and exhibit to the present age the knowledge and experience of the past, may be expected to meet with any thing rather than a favorable reception. "What!" will the modern sadducee exclaim, "will you at this time of day bore us with obsolete and incredible stories of witches, ghosts, and apparitions? Will you retrograde the march of science, and carry back the intelligence of the present age to the standard of the 17th century? Will you send us to Dr. Cotton Mather for philosophy, or to Mr. Richard Baxter for learning or common sense?" And why not? They were bright and shining lights in their generation, in an age not unenlightened by science, or deficient in acute and subtle reasoning, sound sense or solid philosophy. In this age flourished a Bacon, a Boyle, a Barrow,

and a Hale. In this age, the aspiring muse of Milton bounded on towering wing her way to heaven, traversed the mansions of the blest, and with the enchanting magic of her lay "called up spirits from the vasty deep." Whilst the eagle eye and penetrating mind of Newton explored the secrets of nature, revealed the laws of matter, and instructed men in the order and harmony of the universe,

> Superior beings, when of late they saw
> A mortal man unfold all Nature's law,
> Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
> And viewed a *Newton* as we view an ape.

Shall it then be thought beneath the present race of scholars to gather instruction from such an age as this? All knowledge is valuable, if, as it is generally admitted, experience is the parent of wisdom. If the knowledge of the present is derived from the facts and experience of the past (a truth which we presume few, if any, will doubt or deny) it follows, that the more extensive and accurate information we possess of such facts and experience, the more correct will be our conclusions, and the more comprehensive and exact our knowledge. "But the authors whom we would recommend are weak and credulous men!—believers in ghosts, and relators of fabulous tales!" But are these tales fabulous? This is the question to be tried. Will it be admitted that they were honest

men? Did they possess sufficient integrity and common sense to be admitted, if now living, to give evidence in a court of law on any important fact which had come under their own observation. We believe that their testimony would be considered not only admissable, but ample and convincing. Let us take a short view of their lives and characters.

Richard Baxter, as is well known, was an eminent nonconformist divine, and, like many others of his scrupulous brethren at that time, a sufferer for conscience sake. He is reported to have had the boldness and courage of an apostle, and the modesty and piety of a saint. He remonstrated fearlessly with the usurper Cromwell, and expressed his honest dissatisfaction at his measures. After the Revolution, he received considerable attentions from the court, was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, and offered a bishopric. But what was his answer to this proposal—that he required no "other favor than to be permitted to continue minister of Kidderminster." Bishop Burnett, who lived at the time, and must be considered a competent authority on this point, says, "Mr. Baxter was a man of great piety, and if he had not meddled with too many things, would have been considered one of the most learned men of his age: he had a moving and pathetical way of writing, and was his whole life long a man of great

zeal and *much simplicity*, but was unhappily *subtle and metaphsical* in every thing."*

Dr. Cotton Mather, another of our supposed weak and incompetent witnesses, was born at Boston, in New England, 1663. Before he was twelve years old he had made a considerable progress in the Greek and Latin languages, and even entered upon Hebrew, so that, young as he was, he was admitted to Harvard College, where he took his first degree at the age of sixteen, and his second at nineteen. In 1684 he became minister at Boston, in the diligent discharge of the duties of which office, and in writing no less than three hundred and eighty-two books, pamphlets, &c. he spent his life. He acquired so high a character for prudence and wisdom, that he was frequently consulted on affairs of state. Nor was his fame confined to his own country. In 1710 the learned University of Glasgow sent him a diploma for the degree of D. D.; and in 1714 the Royal Society of London chose him one of their Fellows.† The pious and excellent Thomas Bradbury, in his Introduction to Mr. Mather's "Christian Philosopher," says, "This work shows, from the discoveries which are brought together, with what

* He was "subtle and metaphysical," says the Bishop, and yet "was his whole life long a man of much simplicity;"—that is, he possessed the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.—Matt. x. 16.

† General Biographical Dictionary.

spirit the author has pursued his inquiries into the wonders of the universe. He has drawn into his application all that the Bible hath said on the subject, and thus lays open the two great books of God—Nature and Scripture."

These, then, are the men who are said to be weak and credulous, and the authors of fabulous and senseless tales, because they were persuaded of the reality of supernatural appearances, and the narrators of facts which had come under the observation of their own senses; facts, witnessed not only by themselves, but others; attested by aged and venerable ministers of the gospel; and published at the time and in the countries where these scenes are said to have been enacted. The former published at London, in a cheap form, and widely distributed; the latter at Boston, in America, by special command of his Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts Bay.* And here we cannot but express our surprise and regret that any, who call themselves Christians, should "unequally yoke themselves together with unbelievers," and madly conspire to depreciate and destroy *historical evidence*. Do they think that, by *weakening human testimony*, they shall *strengthen faith*, or promote religion? They are mistaken. Were they to succeed, the world would become a

* Republished in London, 1693, 4to.; and in 1702, the principal parts of it were incorporated in his great work, "The Ecclesiastical History of New England." Error: see note on flyleaf - G. L. B.

wilderness of confusion, and mankind be involved in one common scene of ignorance, scepticism, and infidelity. Yet so far will the pride of science, and the fascinations of favorite theories, lead men. Mr. Newnham, in a recent work on Superstition, published under the sanction of the Bishop of Winchester, says, "It has been stated that all histories of apparitions rest on the same basis of *human testimony*, but this is not a *safe foundation for belief*, since it is liable to be acted upon by passion, prejudice," &c. Again, "The existence of spiritual beings cannot be *demonstrated*, and must be received as a *matter of faith*. Now on this view of the subject we rest our belief; not on the *treacherous foundation of merely human testimony*, but on the sure word of God, which reveals to us the attributes and operations of the Holy Spirit, and also speaks of good and bad spirits," &c. But does not our belief in the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures themselves depend in a great measure upon human testimony—upon early ecclesiastical history—and the traditions of the church? How should we be assured, for instance, that the prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem was not, as Voltaire asserts, written after the event, but that we learn, from the concurrent testimony of primitive times, that the books containing this prediction *previously* existed—that they were read in the churches—quoted by the Apostolical Fathers—and esteemed

sacred by the early Christians. We shall not stop here to argue the question, whether the existence of spiritual beings can or cannot be demonstrated, or whether the belief of them does, as this learned author affirms, entirely depend upon Scripture testimony, seeing that all nations have entertained some notion of a deity, as well as of good and bad angels. It would not seem improbable that it is an early and natural revelation of God to man; nor does this opinion want the countenance of inspiration itself. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, says, "That which may be known of God is manifest in them, for God hath showed it unto them! for the invisible things of him from the beginning are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." But though we do not see reason to think with Mr. Newnham, that the existence of spiritual beings is nowhere revealed but in the *sure word of God*, yet we do admit that their existence, as well as their operations and visible appearances, are therein amply and fully disclosed. That good angels interest themselves in the affairs of men, and are commissioned to succour and assist them—that they are *ministering spirits, sent out to minister for those who shall be heirs of salvation*, all Christians, we believe admit. But as some pretend to doubt, and others deny, the corporeal appearance and visible operations of evil spirits, we shall examine what the

Scriptures of truth declare on the subject.† It appears then, that when Moses and Aaron went down into Egypt to demand the liberation of their countrymen, and proposed miracles as a proof of their power and authority, they were for some time opposed by the equally extraordinary pretensions of the Egyptian magicians.—See Exod. ch. vii. &c. Now although these sorcerers were obliged finally to give way, and acknowledge that the miracles of Moses were wrought "by the finger of God," yet it cannot be doubted that their feats were also supernatural and miraculous; and as it is not likely that God would arm them with power in order to baffle or retard the designs of his own messengers, we can only suppose them assisted by some evil and malignant demon. One of the earliest commands of the God of Israel was—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." And

† We shall not dwell upon the following passages although they furnish arguments which those who adhere to the letter of scripture, and do not run into Mr Woolston's mystical *sense*—or rather *nonsense*—cannot avoid. The Devil metamorphosed himself into the shape of a serpent, to converse with and tempt Adam and Eve. Evil angels were sent among the Egyptians (Psalm lxxviii. 49) evil angels were not permitted to come into the Israelites' houses; (Exodus xii 23) satan raised the great storm that blew down the house of Job's children (Job i. 19); and smote his body all over with boils (Job ii. 7); and when God asked satan whence he came, he answered, "from going to and fro in the earth" (Job i 7.)—see Glanvil's "Sadducismus Triumphatus," p. 236, ed. 1726.

the prohibition is afterwards further explained and enforced—"There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer: these shall be put to death; they shall stone them with stones."—Deuterono. xviii. 10, 11! Leviticus xxvii. Now surely it cannot be imagined that these laws were ordained by God to repress imaginary crimes, or to punish imaginary beings. But to set the matter beyond any possibility of doubt, we find examples of the actual exercise of these diabolical arts. First, in the case of Saul and the Witch of Endor, 1 Sam. xxviii.;‡ secondly, in that of Manasseh, a subsequent king of Jerusalem, who "observed times

‡ There have not been wanting witty and conceited writers to burlesque, ridicule, and pervert this as well as other passages of scripture. According to Reginald Scott and Mr. Webster, there was nothing extraordinary or supernatural in the whole of this affair, but it was a mere piece of jugglery and imposture The woman cast herself into a feigned trance, and lay grovelling upon the earth, and so changing her voice did mutter and murmur, and peep and chirp, like a bird coming forth from the shell;—or spake through some hollow cave or vault, or through some pipe, or in a bottle;—or had a confederate apparrelled like Samuel to play his part;—and that it was neither Samuel's body, soul, ghost, nor devil, but only the cunning and imposture of the woman alone, or assisted with a confederate."—Display of Witchcrafts, p. 166. But how could this confederate knave all of a sudden possess and clothe himself with the *sacerdotal habit?*

and used enchantments, and dealt with familiar spirits and wizards, and provoked God to anger." 2 Kings xxi. 6. The Jews, obstinate and perverse, were always inclined to imitate the rites and usages of the neighbouring nations. *Idolatry* was forbidden under the severest penalties, yet were they continually falling into this impious and senseless practice. And notwithstanding the frequent denunciations against sorcery and witchcraft, they could never be brought entirely to

how did he manage to change his face, and mien, and voice so as to discourse for a *long time* with Saul (who was intimately acquainted with Samuel) without detection? —how did they contrive to foretell with such accuracy and exactness Saul's impending fate?—But that it was the Ghost of Samuel that appeared, is past all reasonable doubt. Dr. Delaney says—"The *son of Sirah*, who seems to have had as much wisdom and penetration as any critic that came after him, is clearly of opinion with the sacred historian, that it was Samuel himself; and it is no unfair presumption that it was also the judgment of the Jewish church in his time." His words are, "After his death," speaking of Samuel, "he prophesied and showed the king his end."—Ecclesiastic. xlvi. 20 The text positively calls him Samuel, (in the original, *Samuel himself*) "And Saul perceived that it was Samuel," ver. 14; "And Samuel said to Saul," ver. 15; "Then Saul was sore afraid because of the words of Samuel," ver. 20. Now it is to be observed that these are not the expressions of Saul, or of the witch, but of that infallible Spirit who dictated the holy scriptures.—(See more to this purpose, as well as a clear and satisfactory defence of the passages before cited from *Exodus*, *Deuteronomy*, &c., in the learned Dr. Henry More's Postscript attached to Mr. Glanvil's "Sadducismus Triumphatus.")

abandon them. St. Paul, addressing the Galatian Converts, who appear to have been mostly Jews, mentions idolatry and witchcraft amongst the works of the flesh, telling them, that they who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.—Gal. v. 20, 21. At Ephesus we hear of certain Jews, Exorcists, and others, who used curious arts.—Acts xix. 16—19. And Christ speaks of such practices as common amongst them. "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? therefore they shall be your judges.—"Matt. xii. 27.† But though

† It is plain, says Mr. Scott, that there were those who made it their business to expel evil spirits from possessed persons, Acts xx. 13—16; and that some of them were countenanced by the Pharisees. Now these exorcists might be left to determine the cause betwixt Jesus and his accusers. If they asserted that he cast out devils by the prince of the devils, they could not prove that their own children or disciples cast them out by any other power; and if they ascribed the exorcisms of these persons to the assistance of God, how could they doubt of those effected by Jesus being the same, when they are every way so vastly superior.—*Commentary on the Bible.* Dr. Whitby says, "that it was the custom of the Jews to cast out devils by the invocation of the *name of the Most High*, or of the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*." Josephus informs us that they derived this art from Solomon. Justin Martyr says to Trypho, the Jew, "If you exorcise in the name of the God of Abraham, perhaps the demon will obey you." This, says Mr. Elsley, took place in the time of Christ, as the text here intimates, and also before and after his appearance. Thus Irenæus, "By the invocation of the Most High, even be-

these dark and diabolical practices could not be restrained by the dead letter of the law, they were unable to stand before the mighty power and living presence of the messengers of God. The Egyptian magicians rivalled for a while the miracles of Moses, by turning their rods into serpents, and the waters of Egypt into blood, but they were soon discomfited and subdued, and obliged to acknow-

fore the advent of our Lord, men were saved from evil spirits, and even to this day they are thus expelled by the Jews" see also Tertullian adv. Marcion. Josephus relates that he saw *Eleazar*, a Jew expel demons before the Emperor Vespasian. Origin says, "that the *name* of the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, being used by the Jews in their incantations, did *great miracles*." From the Jews, the Egyptians and other heathens borrowed these forms of adjuration in their magical practices; thus the words *Adonai* and *Zebaoth* were frequent with them.—*Whitby's Paraphrase and Elsley's Annotations.*

It appears, also, that at this time the power of casting out devils was possessed by a spurious sort of Christians —probably some of the early heretics. That they were not Jews appears evident, for these, as long as they continued attached to the ancient faith, were always *against*, or opposed to Christ. Neither could they be true and orthodox Christians, for they followed not Christ and his disciples, "nor conversed with them as brethren," says Doddridge, *Expositor*, sect. 96. They were, therefore, censured by the apostles, and thought by them unworthy to possess so excellent a gift. John said, "Master, we saw one casting out devils in thy name, and he followeth not us, and we forbid him because he followeth not us: and Jesus said, Forbid him not, for he that is not *against us* is for us."—Luke ix. 49, 50.

ledge the supremacy of the God of Israel. In like manner did Elymas the sorcerer withstand Paul to his face, but the hand of the Lord came upon him and he was struck blind.—Acts xiii. So also the *Spirit of God* triumphed over the sorceries of the Jews, and entering into this "strong man's house" of superstition, "spoiled his goods;" for when Paul was at Ephesus, the Jewish exorcists, and others who used curious arts, seeing the miracles which the apostles did, and finding that the power of their craft was gone, "came and confessed, and showed their deeds, and brought their books together and burned them before all men." —Acts xix. 11—13. And what became of the mighty wonders of that prince of magicians, Simon Magus? Although his sorceries were of so magnificent and imposing a character that he had *for a long time* bewitched the people of Samaria, *from the least to the greatest*, and even succeeded in persuading them that he was the *great power of God*, no sooner did Philip go amongst them, than the people left the magician, "and were baptized, both men and women;" nay, even Simon himself, beholding and wondering at the things that were done, professed also to believe, desiring, says Mr. Baxter, to promote his own greatness, and not Christ's interest and honor, and therefore would have bought the power of giving the Holy Ghost, that he might have this added to the rest of his wonders, to make great his name, and to bring him

yet into higher admiration of the people: whereupon he received that heavy censure, Acts viii. 20, also ver. 9, 10, 11, 18, 19, and so became the leader of a deluded sect, and an opposer of the apostles. To Rome he would go on Satan's work, as they did on Christ's and there, by his witchcrafts, got into so much admiration, in the days of Claudius, that he was taken for a god, and had a statue set up to him.—See Justin Martyr, Apology 2. In his contending with the apostles, he would needs fly, in the sight of the people, but at the prayers of Peter and Paul he tumbled down, and ended his wretched life. Arnobius says, "*the Romans saw the race of Simon and his fiery chariots blown away by the mouth of Peter.*" These facts are attested, not by one or two, but by most of the writers of the first ages who meddle with church history.—See Epiphanius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Arnobius, Philostrius, Theodoret, Sulpicius Severus, and others.

But though the powers of darkness were thus driven back and defeated, they were not destroyed: after the death of the apostles they again rallied their broken forces, and recommenced the practice of their dark, mysterious, and mischievous arts. We shall proceed to show, in opposition to Dr. Conyers, Middleton, and other modern Sadducees, that miracles, both *demoniacal* and *divine*, continued long after the age of the apostles. In our Lord's commission to the apostles, he said, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to

every creature; and these signs shall follow them that believe, in my name shall they cast out devils! they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them, they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover."—Mark xvi. 17. Dr. Gill, in his commentary upon the 15th verse of this chapter, says, that this commission not only included the apostles, but reached to all the ministers of the Gospel in succeeding ages, to the end of the world. And after the same manner divines generally interpret a parallel passage, Matthew xxviii. 20. Archbishop Potter says, "Since the apostles all died within the compass of fourscore years after this extensive promise was made, it could no other way be fulfilled than by our Lord's being with their successors to the end of the world." Now, that this is the true interpretation is evident, for the apostles could not have gone out into all the world; America, and many other parts, not having then been discovered; nor could the Gospel have been preached to every creature, or all the heathen, as some have it, in so short a space of time as the lives of the apostles; we must therefore look to future ages for its accomplishment, and we need not go far to find it. During the first four centuries, many of these signs followed the preaching of the Gospel, as Dr. Whitby on this chapter, and in his general Preface to the Epistles, has fully proved: nay,

even Jews have been known to work miracles by the name of Christ. Our Saviour told his disciples, that "false Christs and false prophets should arise, and show great signs and wonders, insomuch that, if it were possible, they should deceive even the very elect;"—Matthew xxiv. 24, and the apostle tells us that the coming of Antichrist is to be "after the working of Satan with all power, and signs, and lying wonders,"—Thess. ii. 9; see also Rev. xvi. 14;—"Not fictitious or counterfeit miracles," says the learned Mr. Reves, "but true, real, supernatural wonders, wrought in confirmation of a lie; for if they were tricks and appearances only, how could the coming of Antichrist be said to be according to the working of Satan with all power?" From these passages, then, it appears evident, that wonders, signs, and miracles, were to continue! and of the fact of their continuance we are fully assured, by the unanimous testimony of succeeding ages. Justin Martyr, a man "educated in all the Grecian learning and philosophy; and one of the earliest writers of the Christian Church," says, that in his time both men and women were endued with the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit of God. That Satan was every where cast out of possessed persons, and driven away by the Christians, when all other exorcists and enchanters had failed in the attempt; this, he says, might be seen by every one, not only at Rome, but in all parts of the

world. Irenæus, who flourished A. D. 184, says, that in his days all who were disciples of Christ wrought miracles in his name, and that the *dead* were frequently raised through their fasting and prayers, and lived afterwards many years amongst them.

Tertullian, and after him Cyprian, made public challenges to all the Pagans, and to their persecuting rulers, to bring those possessed with devils into the Christian assemblies, and if they did not cast them out, and make them confess themselves to be devils, and Christ to be the Son of God, then they were content to suffer. Origen, who flourished A. D. 230, says, that in his time devils were every where cast out of possessed persons, even by the meanest sort of Christians, without any ceremony, but merely by their prayers. Theophilus of Antioch, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, and Julius Fermicius, carry down the evidence of miracles as low as the beginning of the 4th century. Constantine, it is well known, was converted to Christianity by the exhibition of a cross suspended in the air; and that renegade and apostate, Julian, was driven from his impious attempt, to rebuild Jerusalem, by fiery eruptions and tremendous thunder.—(See this fully proved in Bishop Warburton's "Julian") Socraties relates, that at Constantinople, where he himself resided, a Jew, who had been a paralytic for many years, and could find no relief, was on

being baptized, immediately relieved from his disease; he concludes his account with saying that many Greeks, upon seeing the miracle, believed, and were baptized.

About the year 373, Macarius the elder was greatly distinguished in Egypt by his gift of prophecy, the power of healing diseases, and casting out devils; all which powers are fully and strongly attested by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret. Miracles are also attested by Saint Athanasius, Saint Ambrose, Saint Jerome, and others, the most learned, orthodox, and pious divines of this or indeed any other age. Saint Augustine says, that miracles were so frequent and extraordinary in his time, that large accounts were written and published of them, and read to the people in the churches; some of these are said to have been done before many witnesses, some in the public assemblies, and some in his own presence.

It is useless to descend farther. *In no age hath God left himself without witnesses;* but seeing the ignorance of men, "*ever learning, and never come to the knowledge of the truth,*" rivetted in their affections to the earth, and foolishly inclined to attribute every thing to *second causes*, he permits, ordains, or operates, in every age, such strange and unnatural effects as shall awaken their dull and grovelling minds to the contemplation of a superintending power and providence, and to a sensible conviction of the world of spirits. It would carry

us beyond the limits of a preface, were we to attempt to exhibit to our readers a view of the accumulated evidence furnished by the dark ages. Passing by these, as well as the testimonies of the Reformers and early Protestant writers, we shall come down at once to the 17th century: an age abounding in every variety of learning, and full of the most surprising wonders; nor need we stop long even here, as these are amply displayed in the works before us. We shall therefore merely add, to the facts already collected, a few which, though alluded to by our authors, do not appear to have come under their immediate and personal observation; we mean the extraordinary cures effected by the royal touch, and those produced by the hands of Mr. Valentine Greatarick. With regard to the former, we might multiply proofs to any extent; the fact is so well attested, that to disbelieve it, as Mr. Jer. Collier observes, is to run into the excesses of scepticism. We shall take the account given by one who was an eye-witness, and being an experienced and eminent surgeon, he must be considered fully competent to judge of the matter:—"It is not my business," says Mr. Wiseman, "to enter into divinity controversies; all that I pretend to is, first, the attestation of the miracles, and secondly, a direction for such as have not opportunity of receiving the benefit of this stupendous power; the former of these, one would think should need no other proof than the

great concourse of strumous persons to Whitehall, and the success they find in it; *I myself have been a frequent eye-witness of many hundreds of cures*, performed by his majesty's touch alone, without any assistance of chirurgery, and these, many of them, such as had *tired out the endeavours of able chirurgeons* before they came thither. It were endless to recite what I myself have seen, and what I have received acknowledgments of by letter, not only from several parts of this nation, but also from Ireland, and Scotland. Some will impute it to the journey and change of air, others to the effect of imagination; the first of these is easily confuted, by the hundreds of instances that are to be given of the inhabitants of this city, who certainly could meet with little change of air, or indeed of exercise, in a journey to Whitehall; the second is as readily taken off, by the example of infants who have been frequently healed, though they have not been old enough to imagine anything, or do any act, that could contribute to the cure." Of the cures performed by *Mr. Valentine Greatarick*, Doctor Henry Stubbe, a learned physician, and an eye-witness, has given the following account:—"I do not relate to you the reports of interested monks and friars, concerning things done in private cells. An infinite number of nobility, gentry, and clergy of Warwickshire, persons too understanding to be deceived, and too honourable and worthy to deceive, will avow, that they have seen him publicly cure the lame, the

blind, the deaf, the perhaps not unjustly *supposed* demoniacs, and lepers, beside the asthma, falling sickness, &c.—(page 4.) I saw him put his finger into the ears of a man who was very thick of hearing, and immediately he heard me, when I asked him very softly several questions. I saw another, whom he had touched three weeks before for a deafness in one ear, whom I had known to be so many years; I stopped the other ear very close and I found him to hear very well, as we spoke in a tone no way beyond our ordinary conversation. Some I observed to have received no help by him at all, some to have received a momentary benefit, and some as yet continue so well, that I think I can safely say that they are cured. This variety of success amused me; yet I recollected with myself how there were some diseases, as well as devils, which even the apostles could not cast out; and could not persuade myself that Trophimus was the only man, or Miletum the only place, where Paul left any sick. I considered the man no apostle, and therefore thought it injurious to expect from him that which was not to be found in these extraordinary envoys of heaven.—(pages 5 and 6.) I observed that he used no manner of charms, or unlawful words: sometimes he ejaculated a short prayer, and when he had cured anhe bade them give God the praise. I considerey that there was no manner of fraud in the performd ance, that his hands had no manner of medicaments on them, for I smelled to them, and handled

them, and saw them washed more than once, after some cases, and before others, nor was his stroaking so violent, as that much could be attributed to the friction.—(page 8.) The Rev. G. Foxcroft says, in a letter appended to the above—Having been lately requested, by the learned Dr. Stubbe, to set down in writing some few of the cures of Mr. Greatarick, since his coming into England, I shall barely relate matter of fact, in four or five instances, whereof I have been an eye-witness.—Tuesday, Feb. 1. Mrs. Reynolds, a shopkeeper's wife, of Alcester, in Warwick, having been for some time disabled in her arms and hands, so that she was not able to use them, or even undress herself, was that day touched by Mr. Greatarick; she found them strengthened at the first time, and much more after, so that she could put them behind her back, comb her hair, and use her needle, and thus she continues till this day. The same day, in the Town Hall, I saw two women delivered from the falling sickness.—(page 32.) The next instance is of one Hester Jourdan, of Shropshire, who, as the friends related, had taken poison in her infancy (by what mischance I know not,) presently lost both speech and hearing, and so has continued ever since, she now being 22 years old; by the application of Mr. G.'s hand to her tongue and ears, both speech and hearing were recovered, and though her speech was not very articulate, yet she intelligibly enough imitated any words spoken to her; for when Mary was spoken, she returned Maa

—for father, faa—for mother, maa, &c.—(page 42) The truth of these narratives is attested by me E. Foxcroft, M. A., and one of the Fellows of King's College, Cambridge. Feb. 22, 1666."

We have now gone through the evidence which we intend, at present, to adduce in favor of what are called *vulgar miracles*. They have been witnessed by every age, and every nation, savage and civilized; attested by thousands of eye and ear-witnesses, and even by the *sacred writers themselves*. Laws have been made to punish *sorcerors*, and to repress the exercise of *magical arts*, not only by this, and other enlightened nations, but even by God himself. Hundreds of *witches* have been convicted by judges and juries, on full, clear, and convincing evidence, and many have *voluntarily* confessed their diabolical compacts, and iniquitous deeds. Whoever can believe that all these persons have been deceived, that the whole world, down to the 18th century, has been involved in one common scene of error and delusion; that laws are built upon chimeras, and history upon fiction; that pious, grave, and venerable judges have been *murderers*, and the *wisest and best men* of former times *fools* or *knaves;* those that can bring themselves to such an absurd and ridiculous conclusion, must possess a power which we do not pretend to; they must be able to believe whatever they please, and to disbelieve, in opposition to the strongest and most convincing evidence.

*August* 1, 1834. THE EDITOR.

## MR. BAXTER'S

# PREFACE.

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It seemeth hard to unruly minds, that God should keep intellectual souls so strange to the unseen world of spirits, that we know so little of them; and that our knowledge of them is no more by the way of sense. But there is in it much of God's arbitrary sovereign power, and much of his wisdom, and much of his justice, and also of his love.

1. It pleased him to make variety of creatures; What harmony would there be without variety? were there nothing but unity, there would be nothing but God. And various creatures must have a various situation, reception, and operations; the fishes must not dwell in our cities, nor be acquainted with our affairs.

2. We here dwell in flesh, in bodies organized for the soul's reception, perceptions, and operations; and the wisdom of God doth suitably dispose of his communications; and give us that measure of light which is agreeable to our state; the sun must not shine on the infant in the womb,

nor must he there see our buildings, and tradings, and business in the world.

3. We have light here, that is proportionable to our work and interest; so much as is necessary to our knowing of ourselves, and our God and governor, and our duty, and all those hopes that are our necessary motives thereto. Men that will but observe the *operations* of their souls, may competently know what a soul or a spirit is; and men that will but open their eyes, and considerately look about them, may as certainly know that there is a God as they can know that there is any being; and men that cannot but difference moral good and evil, and that know the duty of children to parents, subjects to rulers, and neighbours to neighbours, may know their duty to God, and that the performance of it shall not be in vain; and if men will not know all this, which they may know it is just with God to leave them in their chosen darkness, and not to know that which further might be known. It is a dismal case to have a soul that will not know itself to be what it is, till utter misery convince him.

4. And the God of love maketh advantage of our not seeing the world of spirits for the exercise of our higher intellectual faculties, by a life of faith; and *intuition* a nobler sort than our present eyesight will be seasonable, and soon enough when ripeness hath made us ready for it. We shall not need all the organical parts of the eye, which Galen

admiringly describeth, for our glorious sight. And to see devils and other spirits ordinarily, would not be enough to bring our Atheists to the saving knowledge of God, without which all other knowledge is vain. They that doubt of a God (the most perfect, eternal, infinite being,) while they see the sun, and the moon, and stars, the sea and land, would not know him by seeing created spirits

As to the originals of this collection, it had its rise from my own, and other men's need. When God first awakened me to think with preparing seriousness of my condition after death, I had not any observed doubts of the *reality of spirits*, or the *immortality of the soul*, or the truth of the Gospel, but all my doubts were about my own renovation and title to that blessed life. But when God had given me peace of conscience, Satan assaulted me with those worse temptations; yet, through God's grace, they never prevailed against my faith; nor did he ever raise in me *the least doubt of the being and perfection of God*, nor of my duty to love, honour, obey, and trust him; for I still saw that to be an Atheist was to be mad.

But I found that my faith of supernatural revelation must be more than a *believing man*, and that if it had not a firm foundation and rooting, even *true evidence of verity, surely apprehended*, it was not like to do those great works that faith had to do, and to overcome the world, the flesh, and the devil, and to make my death to be safe and com-

fortable. Therefore I found that all confirming helps were useful; and among those of the lower sort, *apparitions, and other sensible manifestations* of the certain existence of spirits, of themselves invisible, was a means that might do much with such as are prone to judge by sense. The uses hereof I mention before the book, that the reader may know that I write it for *practice*, and not to please men with the strangeness and novelty of useless stories.

It is no small number of writers on such subjects that I have read; it's near threescore years time from the first occasion; and finding that almost all the Atheists, Sadducees, and Infidels, did seem to profess, that were they but sure of the reality of the apparitions and operations of spirits, it would cure them. I thought this the most suitable help for them, that have sinned themselves into an incapacity of more rational and excellent arguments. And I have long feared lest secret, unobserved defectiveness in their belief of the immortality of the soul, and the truth of the scripture, is the great cause of all men's other defects; there lieth usually the unsoundness of worldly hypocrites, where it is prevailing, and thence is the *weakness* of grace in the best, though it prevail not against their sincerity.

By which motives I did (though it displeased some) make it the Second Part of my book called "The Saints Rest." And afterward provoked by

Clement Writer, I did it much more fully in a book called "The Unreasonableness of Infidelity." And after that, provoked by the copy of a paper dispersed in Oxford (said to be Dr. Walker's,) questioning the certainty of our religion, and seeing no answer to it come from the University men, I wrote yet more methodically of all, in a book called "The Reasons of the Christian Religion:" and after added a small discourse, called "More Reasons for it," provoked by one that called himself Herbert; in which also I answered the Lord Herbert, *de veritate*. And since then a nameless Sadducee hath drawn me to publish and answer to him. And in my "Life of Faith," and other books, I have handled the same subject. All which I tell the reader, that he may see why I have taken this subject as so necessary why I am ending my life with these Historical Letters and Collections; which I dare say have such evidence, as will leave every Sadducee that readeth them either convinced, or utterly without excuse.

Surely the certainty of so great a change of our place, state, company, and works, as death will certainly and quickly make, should possess every man, that hath the use of reason, with such serious thoughts, affections, and diligence, as is quite contrary to a diverted, careless, sloathful worldly sensual, and stupid mind and life.

How speedily shall I see the world that I have read of, and preach'd and talk'd, and written of?

O! what a difference will there be between my now hearing of frightful apparitions, and prodigious acts of spirits, and that sight or knowledge of all their state and affairs, which I shall have, and now am going to. The sight of devils and damned Diveses, and unholy souls, will hereafter be no rarity; and if my soul must pass through the airy inferior region, where these miserable spirits now inhabit, it will not be as dangerously assaulted by them, but in triumph: for I know whom I have trusted, and into the hands of him do I commit my spirit, who hath conquered death and devils, and is now the glorified Lord of all, and can use them at his pleasure. And those angels that rejoice at the repentance of a Lazarus, and now are ministering spirits for his safety, will be ready, in obedience to our Lord, to convey his soul to Abraham's bosom; yea, to be that day with Christ in Paradise.

He that chaineth up these devils, that they molest us no more as their malice doth desire, will make our passage safe through all their envy and defiled regions.

But seeing it is the free will of man that giveth the devils their hurting power, and they can do us no harm, nor make us sin, without our own consent or yielding, O! with how careful, and constant, and resolved watchfulness, should we live! And how deservedly may every prayerless, ungodly family and person, be left for a prey to this

devourer? And indeed he hath already hurt them more by blinding and hardening their hearts, than a thousand haunting apparitions could of themselves have done.

And when excellent Zanchy hath said so much to prove, that it is by his very contigious substance that the devil doth work on soul and body, how dreadful should temptations and sin be to us, if we would not have the very substance of devils dwell in us? And why do any think it strange to read so much of possessions and dispossessions in the Gospel?

Lord Jesus, let me finish my course with joy, and then receive my spirit.

RICHARD BAXTER.

*July* 20, 1691.

# THE CERTAINTY

OF THE

# WORLD OF SPIRITS,

&c., &c.

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*Of the great and weighty Uses of these Histories of Spirits.*

I HAVE written this collection only as an addition to sufficient proofs of invisible powers or spirits, which many in full treatises have already given to the world; because, how convincing soever those discourses be, multitudes, bred up in idleness and sensuality, and thereby drowned in Sadduceism and bestiality, never see those books; nor will the devil consent that they shall have so much wit and care of their future state, as to make that diligent enquiry after such things as the importance of the matter doth require; nor will they read them, if they have them, nor believe the fullest evidence,

though they read it; pretending that of persons and things so long ago, and far off, they can have no assurance, not knowing what fallacies may intervene.

Therefore I have chosen many near to them, both for time and place; of which, if they think their souls worth so much labour, they may enquire to satisfaction.

Though I have taken many out of foreign most credible physicians, and some from other historians, yet, that I may not transcribe too much, I desire them that need yet fuller information, to read especially Bodin and Remigius, two judges who condemned multitudes of witches themselves, and Paul Grillandus, and Sprangerus, and the Mallei Maleficorum, and Zanchy de Angelis and Dæmon, and Danæus, Joseph Glanvile, with Dr. More's notes, especially the story in the West of Scotland, near like that most convincing one of the devil of Mascon, and Dr. More of Atheism, and Mr. Increase Mather, and his son Mr. Cotton Mather, of New England, their two books of witches, of which, the latter hath most convincing evidence.

I confess, it is very difficult to expound the causes of all mentioned in these histories; but proved matters of fact must not be denied, but improved as well as we can. And I confess very many cheats of pretended possessions have been discovered, which hath made some weak, injudicious men think that all are such. But he

forfeiteth the benefit of his own eye-sight, who thinks that none see, because some beggars counterfeit blindness.

*Of the great Benefits we may get by the right Use of these Histories.*

1. We may learn to admire that frame of divine government, that hath creatures so various to rule and order, and maketh one beautiful frame of all. As toads and serpents on earth are not useless, nor devouring fishes, birds, and beasts, so neither are devils nor damned souls, no, nor their sins, which God will use, though he will not cause.

2. We may gather that in heaven itself; there will be an orderly economy, and difference of degrees of superiority and of glory, when there is so great difference through all the world. All shall not be equal to them that shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes. There are many mansions in that house, even to them that be all with Christ.

3. We have great cause to be very thankful to God, that doth not let loose wicked spirits against us, that they are not here our terror and tormentors.

4. How great a mercy is it that we have a Saviour that hath power over them, and hath redeemed us from their power, and from everlasting damnation.

5. We may see that the angels of God are not useless to us, but their ministry is one of God's means for our preservation, and we owe them love and thanks for all their love and service. And it is not through pride or insensibility of this benefit, that we do not worship them, whom we see not.

6. If the devils possessing and tormenting men's bodies be so heavy a plague, how much worse is it to have him the master of their souls? O! how carefully should we resist his temptations! Every sin that we commit, through love to it, or by wilfulness or sloth, is worse to us, and more pleasing to the devil, than to be tormented so long by him. He missed of his aim at Job, when he could not by all his sufferings draw him to sin! O! how much more miserable is a worldly, proud, gluttonous, dives, lord, knight, or gentleman, and sensual youth distracted with vain mirth, and lust, than one bewitched, or bodily only possessed by devils; and how much should the most godly be afraid of sin, and of temptations?

7. It is a sensible help to convince Atheists and Infidels, and confirm the best believers against all temptations, to doubt of the life to come, and the immortality of souls, and the future judgment and retribution; and though it be our shame to need such helps, it is a mercy to have them. If a Sadducee will say, If one did come from the dead or I saw such things, I would believe, should not

our faith be past wavering, that have these added to the greater gospel proofs.

8. It is a matter of comfort to departing faithful souls, that these evil spirits that are chained up now, and not suffered to disturb us, shall not hinder our passage to glory. If we must pass through the air, inhabited by devils and wicked souls, angels, will convey us, and Christ receive us, and it shall not be to our hurt or loss.

9. It should always keep the souls of the faithful in joyful gratitude, for the work of regeneration, grace, justification, and salvation, which was our great deliverance from devils; and teach us to live as the saved of the Lord.

10. It should warn all to take heed that they be not helper and servants to devils, in tempting and destroying souls. O! how many do this work that defy his name? All that by wicked example and scandal, harden men in sin. They that tempt people to pride and lust, and fleshly pleasures They that draw them into the company of vain, lascivious, lustful, riotous, and ungodly persons. They that madly contradict God's word, and cavil and argue against faith and holiness. They that deride and mock at the obedience of God's commands, and reproach the most religious by scornful nick-names. They that seduce them by false doctrine, and that draw them from God's worship, and they that silence necessary faithful preachers, and they that dissuade men

from hearing or regarding them. O! what an army hath Satan for his work of destroying souls. He hath a greater and more dangerous army to fight against Christ and holiness, and men's salvation, among the great, and rich, and proud, and careless voluptuous sinners, than among witches and possessed bodies. He wins and undoes most by pleasing them. If he can get them to prefer earth before heaven, and wealth and honor before holiness, and to be lovers of fleshly pleasure more than of God, and keep them from any serious minister, or means that would waken them, and bring them to their wits, and keep them from serious consideration, and from thinking whither they are going, and how all their carelessness, ease, and sin will end; this is it that answereth his soul-murdering desires.

11. But especially these instances of Satan's diligence and malice should teach ministers how to preach, on what subjects, and in what manner, and how to converse personally with those of their charge. Shall the captains in Christ's army see the devourer go away with the prey, and do little for their rescue? Is ignorant, cold, jingling, contentious preaching, meet for them that are so greatly obliged to militate under Christ against the destroyer, and for the everlasting saving of men's souls? The Lord heal and pardon our unbelief, and cruel want of pity, and our sloth and lukewarmness; for it is a great and serious work

which we undertake. But of this I refer those that will read it to my "Reformed Pastor."

O Lord, give to the Christian world a greater number of wise, humble, holy, experienced teachers, and save them from those that hate or belive not the doctrine, which for worldly ends they preach, and that serve the devil in the name of Christ, and calling themselves the Church, and their conceits its canon or rule, do preach and rule for themselves, their honor, will, and wealth, on pretence of the welfare and unity of the church, and become the trumpeters of malignity, persecution. and schism, and have not known the way of mercy.

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*Several Historical Instances of Apparitions, Witches, and marvellous convincing Works of God's Providence.*

THERE are in this City of London many persons that profess their great unbelief, or doubt of the life to come, the immortality of the soul, and therefore much more of the truth of the gospel, and Christian faith, and supernatural revelations. But they say, that could they be certain of spirits, apparitions, witchcraft, and miracles, it would do more to convince them than the assertions of the

Scriptures. But they take all such reports to be but the effects or error, deceit, and easy credulity. For the sake of such, I have recited many credible instances in this book, and my "Saints' Rest," and in my "Unreasonableness of Infidelity," and I shall here add some more. I doubt not but abundance of reports of such matters have no better causes than are here mentioned, even the mistake of the ignorant; but that there are true as well as false reports of such things, is past all reasonable cause of doubting.

I. I will begin with that most convincing instance, which you may read in a book called "The Devil of Mascon."

Above twenty years ago, the now Earl Orery, then Lord Broghil, a person of well known understanding, and not much inclined to weak credulity told me much of what is written in that book, and more; and said that he was familiar with Mr. Perreaud, a reverend worthy Protestant minister, in whose house all was done, and had his son for his servant in his chamber many years, and from Mr. Perreaud had the narrative. Not long after, Dr. Peter Moulin, Prebend of Canterbury, and son to the famous Peter Moulin, printed the book as having it from his father, who had it of Mr. Perreaud. And Mr. Robert Boyle, brother to the Earl of Orery, a man famous for learning, honesty, and charity, and far also from weak credulity,

prefixeth an epistle to it, owning it as undoubted truth, being acquainted with the author, Mr. Perreaud, as his brother was. All these three worthy persons—the Earl of Orery, Mr. Boyle, and Dr. Peter Moulin,—through God's mercy, are yet living.

I hear some report, that this history of Mascon is denyed by some, that say they have spoken with some that have been at Mascon, and knew nothing of it. And what wonder if such things that are talked of but a few days, be forgotten after fifty or sixty years. They that will not believe the narrative from such men as the famous Peter Moulin, senior, and Dr. Peter Moulin, junior, that printed it; and from the Earl of Orery, that told me he was familiar with Mr. Perreaud and had his son many years his chamber-servant! and his brother, Mr. Robert Boyle, yet living, that hath attested it by a preface, may read all the history, with many more of witchcraft, printed in French, and published by Mr. Perreaud himself; and if they cannot get it, they may go to my kinsman, William Baxter, now schoolmaster at Newington, where they may see it.

Could it be counterfeit, and never contradicted in fifty or sixty years—I remember not just the year,—that in a city, so many of both religions, for so many months together, might croud at a certain hour in the room, and hear a voice answering their questions, and telling them things far

off, and unto them unknown: and disputing with a Papist officer of the city, and the whirling him oft about, and casting him on the ground, and sending him home distracted; I say, if this, and all the rest there written, so attested, be not sufficient evidence, I know not what is.

II. My next history shall be that of Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, which I will give only in the words of others, as I received it; only telling you what they are.

1. Mr. Samuel Jones, is a man of known learning, piety, and honesty, though a silenced minister, now living in Glamorganshire, by whose meditation I had the other.

2. Mr. Bedwell was also a faithful minister.

3. Mrs. Bowen herself either is, or lately was, living; a woman very much praised for true piety and courage, sister to Colonel Philip Jones, once one of Cromwell's council.

4. Here is a letter also from Colonel Wroth Rogers, late Governor of Hereford, I think yet living, and a credible person, though then not willing the story should be published; I suppose his reasons are now over.

5. I desired, lately, a worthy minister of Swansey to enquire whether ever since any thing had abated the belief of the fact, who tells me—as others do,—that it is as fully believed by those that were in the house, and others, as ever.

*Several Letters to Mr. Richard Baxter, in relation to an Apparition in the House of Lieutenant Colonel Bowman, in Glamorganshire, in Wales, in the Year* 1655.

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*Colonel Rogers, the Governour of Hereford, his Letter: together with an enclosed Relation of an Apparition, &c.*

Dear Sir,

By the enclosed you will find something of the business you expected from me. It is certain and true I have received it from very good hands. More there was, but they did not think it convenient to put it in paper. My request is, that you will not expose it to publick view; it may rather do harm than good. I know that God hath given you wisdom, and you will make good use of such things. It may harden others. This, with the enclosed, is all at present from

Your cordial friend
and Servant,
W. ROGERS.

*Hereford, Aug.* 23, 1656.

*The enclosed Relation of the late strange Apparition in the Country of Glamorgan.*

In the beginning of the late war, a gentleman of that county, being oppressed by the king's party, took arms under the Earl of Essex, and by his valor obtained a good repute in the army, so that in a short time he got the command of a lieutenant colonel. But as soon as the heat of the war was abated, his ease and preferment led him to a careless and sensual life, insomuch that the godly commanders judged him unfit to continue in England and thereupon sent him to Ireland, where he grew so vain and notional, that he was cashiered the army; and being then at liberty to sin without restraint, he became an absolute Atheist, denying heaven or hell, God or devil (acknowledging only a power, as the ancient heathens did fate) accounting temporal pleasures all his expected heaven; so that at last he became hateful, and hating all civil society, and his nearest relations.

About December last, he being in Ireland, and his wife (a godly gentlewoman, of a good family, and concluded, by all the godly people that knew her, to be one of the most sincere and upright Christians in those parts, as being for many years under great afflictions, and always bearing them with Christian-like patience) living in this house in Glamorgan, was very much troubled one night

with a great noise, much like the sound of a whirlwind, and a violent beating of the doors or walls, as if the whole house were falling to pieces: and being in her chamber, with most of her family, after praying to the Lord (accounting it sinful incredulity to yield to fear,) she went to bed; and suddenly after, there appeared unto her something like her husband, and asked her whether he should come to bed. She, sitting up, and praying to the Lord, told him he was not her husband, and that he should not. He urged more earnestly:—"What! not the husband of thy bosom? What! not the husband of thy bosom?" Yet had no power to hurt her. And she, together with some godly people, spent that night in prayer, being very often interrupted by this apparition.

The next night, Mr. Miles (a godly minister,) with four other godly men, came to watch and pray in the house for that night, and so continued in prayer, and other duties of religion, without any interruption or noise at all that night. But the night following, the gentlewoman, with several other godly women, being in the house, the noise of whirlwind began again, with more violence than formerly, and the apparition walked in the chamber, having an insufferable stench, like that of a putrified carcase, filling the room with a thick smoke, smelling like sulphur, darkening the light of the fire and candle, but not quite extinguishing it; sometimes going down the stairs, and coming

up again with a fearful noise, disturbing them at their prayers, one while with the sound of words which they could not discern, other while striking them so that the next morning their faces were black with the smoke, and their bodies swollen with bruises.

Thereupon they left the house, lest they should tempt the Lord by their over-bold staying in such danger, and sent this Atheist the sad news of this apparition; who coming to England about May last, expressed more love and respect to his wife than formerly; yet telling her, that he could not believe her relation of what she had seen, as having not a power to believe anything but what himself saw; and yet would not hitherto go to his house to make trial, but probably will ere long, for that he is naturally of an exceeding rash and desperate spirit.

*August*, 1656.

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*Mr. Samuel Jones's Letter in relation to Lieutenant Colonel Bowen; together with an enclosed Letter from Maur. Bedwell on the same subject.*

Worthy and much honored,

You may be pleased to remember, that

when I waited upon you at the sheriff's house, in Sallop, in August last, amongst your other enquiries, touching the state of that poor country where the Lord hath cast my lot for the present, you desired me then to impart what I had received by relation, concerning the apparitions in one Col. Bowen's house, and, upon my return, to procure you some further intelligence touching that tremendous providence. Whether it be by time, or familiarity with the noise hereof, or rather, the (no less to be admired) blockishness of the spirits of men, that the horror of that terrible dispensation be allayed, I know not, but surely the thing itself was very stupendous, and the remembrance of it carries much amazement with it still, to them that have any thing of tenderness or understanding left them. By the enclosed, from an honest and godly hand, not far from the stage where these things were acted, you may understand the substance of that matter, the party (being a minister of the gospel) perfectly knew Colonel Bowen, hath often conversed with him, both before and since his house was haunted. If you are pleased to command any further satisfaction herein, I shall take a journey myself into the place, and endeavour to gratify any further particular that you desire the knowledge of. If any public use be made hereof, you may conceal my friend's name and mine own, lest any offence should be taken by some of the parties relations in parliament and

council.* Of the receipt of this paper I desire to hear with all convenient speed. At the throne of grace vouchsafe to remember your weak and wretched brother, who yet desires to be found in the number of them that are—

Sir,

Yours, in the surest bonds,
to honor and serve you,
SAMUEL JONES.

*Coedrehon,*
Nov. 28, 1656.

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*Mr. Maur. Bedwell's inclosed Letter.*

Dear Sir,

GLAD I am of your safe return, and gladder should I be to be instrumental, according to my weak capacity, of hailing you to these parts. I hope, if my desires are agreeable to the Lord, you will meet with some directing providences, from him, which will answer all objections.

As to Col. Bowen's house I can give you some brief particulars, which you may credit, as coming

* The reasons why forbearing names was desired being now over (yet Mr. S. Jones, still living) I think myself disobliged as to that restraint.—R. B.

from such who were not so foolish as to be deluded, nor so dishonest as to report an untruth. What I shall write, if need were, would be made good both by ear and eye-witnesses. The gentleman, Col. Bowen, whose house is called Lanellin, in Gowersland, formerly was famous for profession of religion, but this day is the saddest man in his principles I know living. To me, in particular he has denied the being of the Spirit of the Lord, his argument thus—Either it is something or nothing; if something, show me, tell me what it is, &c., and believe he gives as littlecredit to the other spirits as the Sadducees. At his house aforementioned, he being then in Ireland, making provision for removing thither, these things happened. About December last, his wife being in bed, a gracious, understanding woman, and one whom little things will not affright; one in the likeness of her husband, and just in his posture, presented himself to her bed-side, proffering to come to bed to her, which she refusing, he gave this answer, "What! refuse the husband of thy bosom;" and after some time, she alledging Christ was her husband, it disappeared. Strange miserable howlings and cries were heard about the house, his tread, his posture, sighing, humming, were frequently heard in the parlour; in the daytime often the shadow of one walking would appear upon the wall. One night was very re-

markable, and had not the Lord stood by the poor gentlewoman and her two maids, that night they had been undone; as she was going to bed, she perceived by the impression on the bed, as if some body had been lying there, and, opening the bed, she smelled the smell a carcase somewhile dead; and being in bed (for the gentlewoman was somewhat courageous) upon the tester, which was of cloth, she perceived something rolling from side to side, and by and by, being forced out of her bed, she had not time to dress herself, such cries and other things, almost amazing her, but she (hardly any of her clothes being on) with her two maids, got upon their knees by the bed-side to seek the Lord; but, extremely assaulted, oftentimes she would, by somewhat which felt like a dog under her knees, be lifted a foot or more high from the ground. Some were heard to talk on the other side of the bed, which one of the maids hearkening to, she had a blow upon the back. Divers assaults would be made by fits; it would come with a cold breath of wind, the candles burn blue, and almost out; horrible screekings, yellings, and roarings, within and without the house sad scents of brimstone and powder, and, this continued from some nine at night, to some three the next morning, so that the poor gentlewoman and her servants were in a sad case the next morning, smelling of brimstone and powder, and, as I remember, black with

it, but the Lord was good. Fires have been seen upon the house and in the fields; his voice hath been heard luring his haukes, a game he delights in, as also the bills of the hauks. These are the chief things which I dare recommend upon credit, and I could wish, that they who question the existency of spirits had been but one night, at Lanellin, to receive satisfaction to their objections. This continued so violent, that the gentlewoman was fain to withdraw to her mother's house; but her husband coming over about some four months since, his confidence did not serve him to lodge at Lanellin, although we have heard nothing of trouble to the house, since his coming over. Sir, the dispensation, as it was exceeding terrible, so very remarkable, and what the voice of God might be in such a thing it is not known clearly yet. He is as Atheistical as ever, all his religion if I may call it so, being comprised in the acknowledging a power, which we, as he saith, may call God, and waiting for some infallible miraculous business to verify to him all the rest we own as our religion. Sure, sir, if ever a blasphemer was unworthy to live, this is the man; and certainly his sin will find him out; he is now gone to Ireland. Let these things be divulged only as to the matter, without names. Assure the gentleman, your friend, they are very truths; I have somewhat more than ordinary for what I say. At the first we concluded the wretch had been dead, but it

was otherwise, and therefore the more remarkable.

Your affectionate brother,
to love and serve you,
MAUR. BEDWELL.

*Swansy,*
Oct. 16, 1656.

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III. Colonel John Bridges was governor of Warwick Castle almost all the time of the wars. Afterwards he lived with us near Kiderminster, being patron of the church, a justice of peace, a parliament man; and after lived in Ireland, where he surprised (with others) Dublin Castle, and Sir Hardress Waller for the King, before he was called home. He was an understanding, prudent man, of sound judgment in religion, just and honest, and credible.

He and his pious wife have oft told me as followeth:—

They formerly lived in Edson Hall, near Alcester, where Warwickshire and Worcestershire joins, a house famed to be haunted: and being used to go into a parlour alone for meditation, prayer, and to play on his lute, once as he went in at the portal he was stopped and held by somewhat invisible, till he resolved, under God's protection, to rush through it, and go on.

Another time, in a clear moon-light night, their mastiff dog made such a noise as raised up the house: he looked out at the window, and beyond a pale that compassed the court there stood something like a headless man, but taller. He long gazed on it, and, trusting God, returned to bed; and presently the hall door (fast locked and bared) using to make a great noise in the opening, having much iron, seemed to them all to open as it used, and somewhat came in, and gave three great slams, as with a staff, upon the hall table, and departed. They went down to see, and found the door locked, and fast as they left it. Mr. Sommerfield, who since lived in the same house, said he saw nothing there.

IV. A pious, credible woman, yet living in London, lately told me oftimes, being sometime under temptation by some discontent of mind, one day, as she passed through the room at mid-day the devil stood before her in the shape of a big, black man, and pointed to the top of the door tempting her there to hang her-self, and so stood near a quarter of an hour, and then vanished away. Which was so far from dismaying her, that it much confirmed her against unbelief, and her temptations. Any one that will go to her here in London may hear her credible and confident report of it.

V. The elder Countess of Donagal, a lady, pious, discreet, and credible, told me, that one of her husband's tenants (near Belfast or Carickferges, where he was Lord) agreed with him for to put his son's life with his own in a renewed lease of a farm; and he paid part of the money, and died before the lease was made and sealed. His wife married another man, and paid the rest of the money out of her second husband's purse, and therefore put in his son's life, in stead of her son by the former husband, into the lease. The Earl of Donagal going into England, and being then in the west, a servant of his in Ireland, his porter a stout lusty man, was haunted with the apparition of the woman's first husband, telling him that he must go to his wife, and tell her that she should have no rest till his son's life were put in the altered lease. He asked why he spake to him, and what he had to do to meddle in it? It answered him, 'Thou art a man fit for it, and thou shalt have no rest till thou do it.' The man delayed, and was still haunted with this apparition. He went to the minister of the town, and told him of it, who counselled him to tell the woman. She told him, that she took it to be just that her husband, that paid most of the money, should have the benefit of the lease; and, perhaps not believing the man, delayed. The apparition came to the porter again, and said, That she may believe thee, go tell her of such and such discourse and

actions that were between her and me in secret, which none else knoweth of. The man went and told her all that he was bid. She confessed that it was all true and secret between them, but still delayed, till some trouble (I remember not what) molested herself. In short the porter and she had no rest till she had drawn a new lease, with the name of the first husband's son, and sent it into England to the earl of Donagal, who sealed it, and so altered accordingly.

VI. An ancient, understanding, pious, and credible man, of Ilchester in Somersetshire, is now in London, who the last week told me, that he was heretofore in melancholy doubts and trouble of mind, and in that condition had divers sensible molestations by the devil, as he lay awake in his bed; his feet have been lifted higher than his head. I told him, that a melancholy fancy might make him think so. He added to the confident assertions of it, that he hath in the open day time, as he hath gone about his house, had a blow struck on his face, as hard and as plain as any man's hand could strike; and once so hard, that it left the place black and blue (as they call it) to the sight of all, in the same manner as any other would have done (with much more.)

VII. The story of the haunting of Mr. Mompesson's house in Wiltshire is famous, and printed in part by Mr. Joseph Glanvil. Mr. Mom-

pesson is yet living, no melancholy nor conceited man. The truth not doubted of by his neighbours within this month, I spake with one of them, an attorney, who said, that the noises heard, the visable moving about of the boards before their faces, and such like, were all undoubtedly true; and the thing unquestioned by Mr. Mompesson (who to his great cost and trouble was long molested by it) and his neighbours, and those that purposely went thither to see it. Notwithstanding that, when some unbelievers went from London to be satisfied, nothing was done when they were there. For as God oweth not such remedies to unbelievers, so Satan hath no desire to cure them; and, it is likely, doth more in apparitions by divine constraint, than he is willing to do; because he is most successful when he is least known. Any one that doubts of the truth of this story may yet have full satisfaction, the witness being alive. But this partly belongeth to the instances of witchcrafts, being credibly supposed to be done by witchcraft of a drummer, as you may see described in the printed story. I knew Joseph Glanvile to be far enough from fanatick credulity, who himself saw much of it, and published it.

VIII. In February, 1646, falling into great debility by bleeding, at the Lady Cook's house at Milbourne in Derbyshire, I removed to Mr. Noel's house at Kirby Malory in Leicestershire, where I lay weak three weeks in March, in which time the

neighbours went to see a house in Lutterworth, reported to be haunted. Multitudes flocked to see it, and affirmed, that at a certain hour of the day stones were thrown at those that were present, which hit them, but hurt them not; and that what ever time any one would whistle it was answered by a whistle in the room, and no search could discover any fraud. What became of it after I heard not, but it continued believed commonly by the hearers those three weeks that I stayed in that country.

IX. The hanging of a great number of witches in Suffolk and Essex, by the discovery of one Hopkins, in 1645 and 1646, is famously known. Mr. Calamy went along with the judges in the circuit to hear their confessions, and see that there were no fraud or wrong done them. I spake with many understanding, pious, and credible persons that lived in the countries, and some that went to them to the prison, and heard their said confessions. Among the rest, an old Reading parson, named Lowis, not far from Framlingham, was one that was hanged, who confessed that he had two imps, and that one of them was always putting him on doing mischief; and (he being near the sea) as he saw a ship under sail, it moved him to send him to sink the ship, and he consented, and saw the ship sink before him. One penitent woman confessed, that her mother lying sick, and she looking to her, somewhat like a mole ran into the

bed to her, which she being startled at, her mother bid her not fear it, but gave it her, saying 'keep this in a pot by the fire, &c. and thou shalt never want.' She did as she was bid. Shortly after, a poor boy (seemingly) came in, and asked leave to sit and warm him by the fire; and when he was gone, she found money under the stool; and afterwards oft did so again, and at last laid hold of her and drew blood of her; and she made no other compact with the devil, but that her imps sucked her blood. Abundance of sad confessions were made by them, by which some testified, that there are certain punishments that they were to undergo if they did not some hurt as was appointed them.

X. I will next insert a late fact, not far off, which when a pious, credible person related to me, I desired him to send me the true narrative in writing when he came home, and fully enquired into the matter. And he sent me this narrative here following :—

## At Brightling in Sussex.

As touching the relation of the Brightling story, which is in the substance undoubtedly true, however some circumstances of it may vary, be pleased to take the following account :—

On Monday was three weeks, at or near the house of Joseph Cruttenden, of Brightling, an old

woman about noon came to a servant girl of the said Cruttenden's, tells her sad calamities were coming upon her master and dame; their house should be fired, and many other troubles befall them: but tells this girl withal, that if she spake of what she had told her, the devil would tear her to pieces, otherwise she need not fear, for no hurt should come to her. The same night, as the man and woman lay in bed, dirt and dust, &c. was thrown at them, but they could not tell whence it came. They rise and pray, during which that disturbance ceases; some say they went to bed again, but finding the same trouble they are forced to rise. Tuesday, about noon, dust, dirt, and several things are thrown at them again; before night, a part of one end of their house fired; they rake it down, it flashes somewhat like gunpowder; as they stop'd it there, it began in another place, and thence to another, till the whole house was burnt down. Some say something like a black bull was seen tumbling about; the certainty of that I aver not. The house, tho' it burnt down to the ground it flamed not. The night was spent in carying goods, or one thing or other, from one place to another, they, I think, remaining mostly without doors. Thursday, Col. Busbridge (whose house the former was,) being acquainted with the man's sad accident, bid them go into another of his houses in the parish, whither, when the goods were brought, such like disturbances were there

also; the house fireth, endeavours are made by many to quench it, but in vain, till the goods are thrown out, when it ceased with little or no help. In this condition none durst let them into their doors; they abide under a hut; the goods are thrown upside down; peuter dishes, knives, brick-bats strike them, but hurt them not. Mr. Bennet and Mr. Bradshaw, ministers, came to pray with them, when a knife glanced by the breast of Mr. Bennet, a bowl or dish thrown at his back, but while at prayers quiet: they were without doors, there being very many present, a wooden tut came flying out of the air, by many, and came and struck the man; as likewise a horse-shoe, which was by some laid away, and it was observed of its own accord to rise again and fly to the man and struck him in the midst of a hundred people. Upon strict examination, the man confesseth that he had been a thief, and did it under the colour of religion. Sabbath-day the girl told her dame the former story of the woman's discourse; she is sent for, and examined before Captain Collins, Mr. Busbridge, and she is searched and watched 24 hours; the girl saith she is like the woman, but I think will not swear it is the same. This woman was formerly suspected to be a witch, had to Maidstone about it, but got away, and hath lived about Burwast some time since: her name I know not. Tuesday four ministers kept a fast, Mr. Bennet, Weller, Bradshaw, and Golden; since, I hear not

of any trouble. 'Tis said they are in a barn or ale-house; while they lay without doors, the woman sending some meal to a neighbour to make bread, they could not make it up into loaves, but it was like butter, and so they put it into the oven, but it would not bake, but came out as it went in. This relation came from Mr. Collins, who was an eye-witness of much of it.

XI. About twenty years past, when I was in the Lord Broughill's (now Earl of Orrey's) lodgings in London, one night he brought me the report that one of Cromwell's soldiers being on his watch, near the chapel of St. James's House, something came towards him in an affrightening shape, and he calling out, stand, stand, or I will shoot you, at last discharging, it ran upon him, and threw him over the way far off; and that it had been that day examined, and affirmed confidently; and what became of the report of it afterward I know not, save that it was said to happen oft. But on this occasion the Earl of Orrey (yet living) told me as followeth, That Colonel Venables (then going for Hispaniola with the soldiers that were there repulsed, and took Jamaica) had a soldier in his army that came out of Ireland, and was under Colonel Hill, who was then in London, and would attest this following, *viz.* That this soldier looked pale and sad, and pined, and the cause was unknown: at last he came to Colonel Hill with his

confession, that he had been a servant, in England (as I remember, to one that carried stockings and such ware about to sell,) and, for his money, he had murdered his master, and buried him in such a place: and flying into Ireland, listed himself his soldier; and that of a long time, when ever he lay alone, somewhat like a headless man stood by his bed, saying to him "*Wilt thou yet confess?*" And in this state of fear he had continued, till lately it appeared to him when he had a bed-fellow (which it never did before,) and said as before "*Wilt thou yet confess?*" and now seeing no hope of longer concealing it, he confessed: and as I remember, his going to Hispaniola was his punishment, instead of death, where vengeance followed him. This he offered then to bring Colonel Hill to me to attest. Since the writing of this, the Earl of Orrey is dead.

XII. Simon Jones, a strong and healthful man of Kiderminster (no way inclined to melancholy or any fancies,) hath oft told me, that being a soldier for the king in the war against the parliament, in a clear moonshine night, as he stood sentinel in the College Green at Worcester, something like a headless bear appeared to him, and so affrighted him, that he laid down his arms soon after, and returned home to his trade, and while I was there afterward, which was fourteen years, lived honestly, religiously, and without blame,

and I think is yet living, which mindeth me of that which followeth, though to me not known.

XIII. When I was young, most credible and religious persons born in Wilden-Hall near Wolver-Hampton in Staffordshire, oft told me (dwelling with me in the same house) that one Richard White, a smith of Wilden-Hall, was a profane, atheistical man, and believing that there was no devils, in his cups would wish he could once see the devil, if there were such a thing: and that suddenly he changed his life, and became a professor of zeal, and strictness in religion, and told them, that in a clear moon-shine night the devil in the shape of a great ugly man stood by his bedside, opening the curtains, and looking him in the face, and at last took up the blanket, and sometime smiled on him, and then was more ugly; and after a while (in which he lay in great terror) the apparition vanished, and he was affrighted into the aforesaid change of life, as Bruno, the founder of the Order of Carthusian Fryers, is said to be.

XIV. There is now in London an understanding, sober, pious man, oft one of my hearers, who hath an elder brother, a gentleman of considerable rank, who having formerly seemed pious, of late years doth oft fall into the sin of drunkenness. He oft lodgeth long together here, in this his brother's house. And whenever he is drunken, and hath slept himself sober, something knocks at his

bed's head, as if one knock'd on a wainscot; when they remove his bed, it followeth him. Besides loud noises on other parts where he is, that all the house heareth. They have oft watched, and kept his hands, lest he should do it himself. His brother hath oft told it me, and brought his wife (a discreet woman) to attest it; who averreth moreover, that as she watched him, she hath seen his shoes under the bed taken up, and nothing visible touch them. They brought to me the man himself, and when we ask him how he dare so sin again, after such a warning, he hath no excuse. But being persons of quality, for some special reason of worldly interest, I must not name him.

Two things are remarkable in this instance:—

1. What a powerful thing temptation and fleshly concupiscence is, and what a hardened heart sin brings men to. If one rose from the dead, to warn such sinners, it would not of itself persuade them.

2. It poseth me to think what kind of spirit this is, that hath such a care of this man's soul (which maketh me hope he will recover.) Do good spirits dwell so near us? or are they sent on such messages? or is it his guardian angel? or is it the soul of some dead friend that suffereth, and yet retaining love to him, as Dives to his brethren, would have him saved? God yet keepeth such things from us in the dark.

XV. There is now in London a youth, the son of a very godly conforming minister,) who reading a book of that called conjuration, coming to the words and actions which the book said would cause the devil to appear, was presently very desirous to try, and desirous that the apparition might be accordingly. He came to me in terror having before opened his case to a parish minister, and affirmed to me, that the devil hath appeard to him, and solicited him with a knife to cut his throat, and told him he must do it suddenly, for he would stay no longer. I told him how safe he was, if he truly repented, and begged pardon through Christ, and would resolvedly renew his baptismal covenant, and renounce the devil, and live as truly devoted to God and our Redeemer. And I have heard from him no more but must not name him.

XVI. This following I had from one of unquestionable credit:—

Amongst other things, I called to mind a story sent me in a letter from Cambridge, that week it was done, in 1661 or 1662. Mr. Cooper hearing it, told it as a great truth; he heard Mr. Franklin, a minister of Wood-Rising, in this county, twelve miles from this city, father of the child, tell it to Sir Philip Woodhouse. Mr. Franklin was then minister in a town in the Isle of Eley, and upon this account, which I shall tell you, removed to Wood-Rising, in this county.

This man had a child, to which a spirit often appeared at his father's house, and grew so bold and free, as very ordinarily to come in whilst company was in the house, and Franklin in the room, and sit down by the boy. At due years, about the year 1661 or 1662, he was bound an apprentice to a barber in Cambridge (or at least with him as a probationer.) One night the spirit appeared to him in the usual habit of a gentlewoman, and would have persuaded him to go home again, asking him what he did there, &c. The boy, after some treaty, replied, he would not go. Upon which, he received a great blow on the ear, and grew very ill, but rose. Being and continuing ill, his master presently horseth, and rides to acquaint his father. In the forenoon of that day, the boy sitting by the kitchen fire, his mistress being by, suddenly cries out, O mistress! look! there's the gentlewoman. The woman turns to look, sees nothing; but while her head was turned, hears a noise as of a great box on the ear; turns, sees the boy bending down his neck, and he presently died. About the same hour, so near as they could guess, the master was sitting at dinner in the Isle of Ely, with his father: the appearance of a gentlewoman comes in, looking angrily, taking a turn or two, disappeared.

Thus I remember the story came, in three days after it was done, to me.

Mr. Cooper this afternoon confirms it, as heard

by him from Mr. Franklin himself: adding, the poor man was so affected, that he seemed almost stupid.

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*A true Relation from Honyton, in the County of Devon, concerning witchcraft.*

*Kingston upon Thames, Sept.* 6, 1681.

About nine or ten years since, in the house of Mrs. Hieron of Honyton, (widow) there happened this strange instance of witchcraft following:

This widow Hieron, a person of good quality, kept a mercer's shop, and I think doth to this day, in Honyton. She hath a maid-servant, Elizabeth Brooker by name, who sold small wares in a stall before her mistress's door. On Saturday, which was their market day, a certain woman of Honyton town came to the said Elizabeth Brooker (selling wares at the stall aforesaid) and asked her for a pin. The maid readily gave her a pin from her sleeve: but this pin did not satisfy, she would have a pin of a bigger sort, out of a paper which hung up to sell. The maid told her those pins were not her's to give, she must ask her mistress, and when she had orders she would give her her desire. The woman asked her again and again, and Elizabeth did as often deny. The

woman went away in a great fume and rage, and told the maid she should hear further from her; she would ere long wish she had given her the pin she desired; with many threatening speeches, which the maid took little notice of (though the woman was of an ill report.) Now, the next day being the Lord's day, while her mistress and the family were at dinner, and Elizabeth Brooker waiting at the table, on a sudden the maid gave a very great cry, and told them she had a pin thrust into her thigh, which few of the family did believe, knowing there was no person in the room beside herself and the family, who all sat at meat, she only standing to attend them. Her mistress arose from table, and Mr. Samuel Hieron's wife, who was then living. She was forced to go to bed; they sent for a midwife of the town, who had skill in sores and wounds; she saw there had been some small hurt in the skin, but the pin was out of sight; and feeling so as to understand what it was, or exactly where, the midwife applied her rare plaister of Venice turpentine all that night, and many other things the next day, but the pain was still the same. On the Tuesday they advised with Mr. Salter, a skilful apothecary in the town, who advised them well, whose counsel they followed, but all in vain. On Wednesday, the same week, they with great trouble and pain, brought her to Exeter, and lodged her at Mr. John Hoppin's, a worthy minister of the Gospel, who lived

in Gaudies-Land. They called me to her, to advise what to do to ease her pain. I designed a suppurative cataplasm, but nothing would satisfy the maid but cutting of it out, which was somewhat difficult, because it was hard to find the place exactly where to make the incision; but the courage of the patient did greatly promote the operation. I made a large incision, according to the length of the muscles; and though I could find no sign of the pin upon the first incision, yet by putting my incision knife obliquely, I felt the pin, and brought it out, near an inch within the cutis; and upon that, there was great ease, and in fifteen days the sore was whole. This operation was performed in the presence of Mrs. Hoppin, Mrs. Gold, Mrs. Ford, and many worthy persons of good reputation. And I dare presume, if this paper be sent to Honyton, to Mr. Samuel Hieron, minister of the Gospel, he will have it sufficiently attested concerning the first part of the story, and none can tell the second part better than myself, who performed the operation. And the truth of that I give under my hand this sixth day of September, Anno Dom. 1681.

ANTHONY SMITH,

*Chyrurgus,—Kingston.*

*Mr. Charles Hall's Letter, concerning an House being haunted at Kinton, in Worcestershire, in the year* 1667.

Worthy Sir,

According to your desire, and my promise when I was with you about a fortnight since, with Mrs. Wilson, concerning a man's house in Kinton (six miles from Worcester) being sorely troubled about the latter end of the year 1667, to the best of my remembrance, *viz.*

I living at Benington, near Auster, in Warwickshire, workmen come from Kinton acquainted me of a house sorely haunted, naming the person to me, which I have now forgot. I being desirous to see or hear such things, went to the said house, but finding only a maid there a spinning, I asked her for her master. She told me the spirit (to the best of my remembrance she called it so) had boxed him about the ears, as he sat by the fire, over against her; upon which he cried out, and went away to a son's of his in the said town, a little before I came. I coming to the said man, desired him to come home. He seemed unwilling, telling me how he was abused by it, and that in the night it would often pull him out of the bed, and did so torment him, that he was weary of his life. But getting him home, he sat him down about the same place, near the fire, and I sat

overagainst him, discoursing how he was troubled. He told me several had been with him, as the minister of the place, to my best remembrance. They bid him pray: but he found no relief; I told him I knew no other way than by seeking to the Lord, and not to speak slightly of prayer. He told me I might hear it before I went. I had not been long, but there was a great noise in the said room of groaning, or rather grunting, like a hog, and then gave a loud shriek. Here it is, saith the man. I was much concerned upon the hearing of it; so recalling myself, I desired to go to prayer in the next room, where the man used to lie. By this time many of the towns-people came in, and were at duty. About the middle of the day, the aforesaid noise came, as I thought louder, and just by me; however, I was then not concerned. Afterward having some discourse with the man about a month after, I heard from him that it did no more trouble him, nor to his death. He lived as *I* remember, *two years* after. This is the best and truest account I can give. I rest,

Sir,

Your Christian Friend to command,

CHARLES HATT.

*Gingraff, May*, 16, 1691.

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Mr. John Humphreys brought Mr. May Hill to

me, with a bag of irons, nails, and brass, vomited by a girl. I keep some of them to show: nails about three or four inches long, double crooked at the end, and old pieces of brass doubled, about an inch broad, and two or three inches long, with crooked edges. I desired him to give me the case in writing, which he hath done as followeth. Any one that is incredulous may now at Beckington receive satisfaction from him, and from the maid herself.

In the town of Beckington, by Froome in Somersetshire, liveth Mary Hill, a maid about 18 years of age, who having lived very much in the neglect of her duty to God, was, sometime before Michaelmas last past was twelvemonths, taken very ill, and being seized with violent fits, began to vomit up about two hundred crooked pins. This so stupendous an accident drew a numerous concourse of people to see her, to whom she did constantly affirm, that she saw against the wall of the room wherein she lay, an old woman named Elizabeth Carrier, who thereupon being apprehended by a warrant from a justice of peace, and convicted by the oaths of two persons, was committed to the county goal.

About a fortnight after, she began to vomit up nails, pieces of nails, pieces of brass, handles of spoons and so continued to do for the space of six months and upwards. And in her fits she said there did appear to her an old woman, named

Margarey Coombes, and one Ann More, who also, by a warrant from two justices of the peace, were apprehended and brought to the sessions held at Brewton for the county, and by the bench committed to the county goal. The former of these died as soon as she came into prison; the other two were tried at Taunton Assizes, by my Lord Chief Justice Holt, and for want of evidence were acquitted by the jury. Whereupon Mr. Francis Jesse, and Mr. Christopher Brewer, declared, that they had seen the said Mary Hill to vomit up at several times crooked pins, nails, and pieces of brass, which they also produced in open court; and to the end they might be ascertained it was no imposture, they declared they had searched her mouth with their fingers before she did vomit.

Upon which the court thought fit to call for me, who am the minister of the parish, to testify the knowledge of the matter, which I did to this effect, that I had seen her at several times, after having given her a little small beer, vomit up crooked pins, nails and pieces of brass. That to prevent the supposition of a cheat, I had caused her to be brought to a window, and having looked into her mouth, I searched it with my finger, as I did the beer before she drank it. This I did that I might not want in circumstantial answers to what my Lord and Court might propose.

After the Assize was ended, and she was turned home, she grew worse than ever, by vomiting of

nails, pieces of glass, &c. And falling one day into a violent fit, she was swelled to an extraordinary bigness; some beer being given her, she throws up several pieces of bread and butter, besmeared with a poisonous matter, which I judged to be white mercury. This so much affrighted the neighbours, that they would come no more near her. So that one day, she being taken desperate ill, I was sent for to pray with her; and compassionating the deplorableness of her condition, I at last resolved to take her into my own house, where in some short time the vomiting ceased, though for some space her distorting fits followed her. But blessed be God, is now, and has been for a considerable time last past, in very good health, and fit for service.

MAY HILL, Minister of Beckington,
in the county of Somerset.

*April* 24, 1691.

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They that will read Mr. Increase Mather's book, and especially his son's, Mr. Cotton Mather's book of the Witchcrafts in New England, may see enough to silence any incredulity that pretendeth to be rational.

Mr. Emlin a preacher now in Dublin, told me the story of the bewitching of two gentlewomen, sisters to Mr. Pacy, now a pious justice in Lestoft, in Suffolk. He and his sisters, now married, are

all yet living. They were used much like those in New England, mentioned by Mr. Cotton Mather, being children then about nine and eleven years old. But I understand that the story is in print, and it is also in MS. from Judge Hale himself, who condemned the witch (which no man was more backward to do without full evidence.) A lady of my acquaintance hath it under his hand. Therefore I forbear the particulars; only one odd passage that Mr. Emlin told me I shall recite. A godly minister yet living, sitting by to see one of the girls in her fits, suddenly felt a force pull one of the hooks from his breeches; and while he looked with wonder what was become of it, the tormented girl vomited it up out of her mouth. Any that doubteth of this story may be satisfied of Mr. Pacy, and both his sisters, yet living, and may know all the evidences and circumstances which I pass over.

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## MORE EXAMPLES.

I. Fœlix Platerus, an excellent pious Protestant doctor at Basil, in his Observations, lib. 1, p. 20, saith, "A certain exorcist priest, 1560, got wealth by exorcising, by conjuring the possessed, in a city of Helvetia; into whose house coming on some business, I was desired by a parent, that was his

countryman, to turn him from this ungodly practice. And even then one was brought in, a robust man, with torn hose, who they said was possessed of a devil, and carried on their shoulders; they cast him down on the pavement of the chamber, who prostrate on the ground, his feet drawn together, his hands contorted, and which is strange, his neck turned about, so that his face looked to his back, he lay dumb and deaf like a block. They told me that he had remained in this posture and form, without meat, drink, or any excretion many days. I being struck with this terribly, went my ways. But this same exorcist (priest,) that same year, was brought to me, to Basil, to be cured, having a pain in his hip, that he could not walk, and he lodged with us. But when many things were used in vain, at last he confessed to me, that befel him by the devil; whom, when he by his exorcisms would have cast out of one possest, the devil then, as he had done oft before threatened him in these words, in the German tongue, "*Psoff ich will dir noch den thou geben dase du mich alses veret eist.*" And at once thrust him so violently up to the chimney, that his hip hurt, hath been in this case ever since.

It would be tedious to cite learned, credible physicians that have written, with full evidence, demoniacal effects on their patients.

II. The case elsewhere mentioned, which con-

vinced Hollerius, an extraordinary physician, who before derided it as melancholy, is undeniable; of a girl that, while people looked on, would by somewhat invisible be suddenly bound to a post or bedstead, or her hands tyed together with cords, hemp, or horse-hair; which Hollerius seeing, and that the hand could not be united, but must be cut, he confessed it was by an invisible or supernatural power. One can scarce name a man unlikelier to be deceived than Hollerius.

III. Abundance of credible histories tell us of men and women struck and hurt by the devil, saith Scribonius, page 82, 83. I will add one example. "At Marpurg (where he dwelt,) Anno 1678, a young rustic that had a devil was, by the council of divines, brought into the temple at the time of public prayers, that they might try whether they could cast out the devil. And when prayers were ended, and he was brought again into the hospital a certain citizen, well known to me, standing alone by his own chimney fire, and seeing the demoniac man pass by in the street, by the noise of the company, he earnestly prayed to God for him. In the very moment of his praying by some invisible genious, he had suddenly such a stroke on his neck, and cast him down on his face on the ground; I think, because that malignant spirit would not that men should pray for him that he had possessed. He professed that he did sensibly perceive some-

thing like the hand of a strong man strike him, his face being towards the fire. The man revealed it to me the same day, but secretly, lest it should cast his wife or children into a fright."

IV. What shall we say to the many certain histories of the fresh bleeding of murdered bodies, when the murderer is brought to it, or, at least, when he toucheth it; whether it be by the soul of the dead, or by a good spirit that hateth murder, or by the devil appointed for revenge, it seems plainly to be by an invisible spirit's operation. I have heard persons so credible give instances of it, seen by themselves, that (though it be not a constant event) it is surely credible.

V. Scribonius, p. 126. For the strangeness of the thing (saith he) I will bring but one example: In the county of Lippia, at Uftenia, a woman that had killed her child, cast it into the next river secretly; the child, after three weeks, was found there by two maids, and by the command of the magistrates it was put into the lap or bosom of the mother, being in prison, to try whether the carcase would sweat blood: hereupon the dead infant presently opened the left eye, and weeping much looked on the mother; and that eye being shut, blood flowed out of it. This example is certainly a stupendous sign of God's judgment It was

seen of very many most grave men, and is not doubted of by the inhabitants of that place.

VI. Erasmus, and others, tells us of a witch at a town near them (or rather, a devil,) that appeared, and threatened to burn their houses; and on the top of a chimney, holding a pot of ashes, scattered them abroad, and presently the town was burnt.

VII. Pious and peaceable bishop Jos. Hall, saith, Soliloq. 15. p. 53, 54—Satan's prevalency in this age is most clear, in the marvellous number of witches abounding in all places. Now hundreds are discovered in one shire;* and, if fame deceive us not, in a village of fourteen houses, in the north, are found so many of this damned brood. Heretofore only barbarous deserts had them, but now the civilest and religious parts are frequently pestered with them. Heretofore some silly ignorant old women, &c., now we have known those of both sexes, who professed much knowledge, holiness, and devotion, drawn into this damnable practice.

VIII. I have elsewhere cited divers passages to this use out of holy Cyprian; but that in the epistle of Fimilianus to Cyprian, Ep. 75, p. 238, seemeth strange (like that of Magdalena Crucia.

*Suffolk and Essex.

and others, among the Papists.) A woman pretending to have the Holy Ghost, proved a witch, and did many wonders: she had a gift of prayer, and did baptize, and administer the Lord's supper in the ordinary way, &c.

IX. I have before mentioned Zanchy's judgment, and his excellent books, *de Deo, de Angelis, and de potentia Dæmonum;* than whom no man hath given us a more full testimony, in general, of diabolical operations; I shall here only repeat his opinion of the manner of Satan's working. He thinketh (Tem. 3, 1, 5, c, 10, p. 188,) that it is the very substance of the devil that entereth into men, and that they have bodies more subtle than the air.

The doubt is, 1. Whether it be only other causes that enter by this moving of them by devils. 2. Or whether they operate and enter only virtue, by some force sent from their substance. 3. Or operate by contiguity of their substance itself in men.

1. The first way, no doubt, they work, as by moving winds, and fire, and water, and our blood and humours, and our tempters and enemies, &c., but not that way alone.

2. What energy or force he can send, that is neither his own substance, nor any other substance, I cannot conceive.

3 That his very substance entereth into the possessed, I see no cause to doubt; for he can

penetrate any part of our bodies, as he is a spirit. And if we knew that he operate only in some body or vehicle, air, or air and fire mixt, yet what part of our bodies cannot air and fire penetrate (and this supposition would countenance Dr. More's opinion, that all spirits are the souls of some bodies.) And Scripture with so much of devils entering into men, and being in them, and being cast out of them, that I see not how we can deny it to be their substance.

And how else should they move us (besides by instruments.) Is it any more wonder that devils (permitted) can enter, than air; or how else work they on men's souls? I must say it to humble us, that I fear, that in most temptations that solicit our thoughts, and our wills, and affections, and passions, if not sometimes our tongues and hand, it is the very present substance of evil spirits that by contiguity, move us even true Christians when they sin. And that it is no unseemly thing to pray God to cast Satan out of our thoughts and hearts. Oh that we better knew what cause we have to fear letting him in, and by yielding and custom to give him advantages to tempt and rule us.

But yet his substantial presence and his operations are to be distinguished. He hurteth not all that he is present with, but those that he hath power to work upon, and that are prepared to receive his operations. God himself doth not work

life or grace on all that he is present with; and that what he doth, he doth it by his substantial presence, or his essence.

X. I have cited Luther's testimony, and how the devil appeared to him at Coburge: and Melancthon's, here and elsewhere. See also Peter Martyr, Loc. Com. Clas. I. c. 9, and cap. 8, § 8. page 39, 40.*

XI. The most judicious, credible Melancthon, in his epistle to Hubert Languetus (the author of Junius Brutus's Vind. con. Tyran.) Epistolar. 1, 2, p. 500, 551, saith, "Though there be sometimes natural causes of madness, yet it is most certain, that devils enter into the bodies of some, and cause madness and torments to them, either with natural causes, or without them; for it is manifest that such persons are oft delivered without natural remedies. And these diabolical spectacles are oft prodigies and significations of future things. Twelve years ago there was a woman in Saxony, that never learnt letters, and yet, when she was acted on by the devil, after torment, she spake Greek and Latin of the future Saxon war.

"Sixteen years ago there was in the Marke, a girl that when she pulled hairs from clothes, they

* Calvin relates that he had a vision, in which was exhibited to his view, all the particulars of a battle fought a considerable distance from him, between the Catholics and Protestants.—*Ed.*

were turned into Marke money, which the girl devoured with long and loud gnashing of teeth; and those figures (or shapes) of money sometimes suddenly snatched out of her hands, were true money which are yet kept by some; and after, the girl felt great torment. But she was delivered from all that disease after some months, and yet liveth in health; but frequent prayers of godly persons were made for her, and other ceremonies, were purposely omitted." Thus says Melancthon.

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*Mr. Jno. Lewis, a Learned Justice of the Peace in Cardiganshire, with the Testimony of Dr. Ellis, and Mr. John Davis, about the Dead Men's Lights, the Knockers, and Apparitions.*

Mr. J. Lewis being a justice of the peace, and a man of learning, at the time when, under Cromwell and Harrison, the reading and weak parsons were cast out, and itinerant preachers set up, that turned four or five parishes into one of their circuits, and did little but preach, and shut up the doors where they came not, and by ignorant decrying superstition, form, and ceremonies, set up error, anabaptistry, and unjust separations. He being greatly grieved for these confusions, wrote largely to me about them, whereupon, and on more

such instances, I wrote my five disputations on church government, liturgy, and ceremonies. And Mr. Lewis joined with me in a design to have begged money in pity to Wales, to have set up a Welch college at Shrewsbury; and his notice about apparitions came in, but on the by, at my request. But though I dismember his letters with regret, by casting away the main part that was well worth the reading (and all my answers to them,) yet it would be so unsuitable to insert such matters in a history of spirits, that if any of his acquaintance blame me for it, they must accept of this excuse. He is known by published books of his own.

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*Part of Mr. John Lewis's first Letter, relating to Spirits and Witches.*

Most worthy Sir,

I HAVE now another motion to you, as to that passage in your *Unreasonableness of Infidelity*, where you show the meaning of the spirit, as to human learning, &c., and those twenty-nine considerations (for the page I cannot cite, because I have not the book at this very instant,) because it is in the midst of the book, and not so discernable to all readers; I could humbly beg of you to get your printer and stationer to print them apart in a few small leaves, for there is nothing, generally,

that is more mistaken among us than that, and I would myself be at charge of buying and dispersing many scores of them. And because of that copious satisfaction which you give of spirits, than which there cannot be greater convincements against Infidelity and Atheism, I could afford you several strange instances from these parts, but I shall trouble you only with two. Since the time I received your letter, there happened in my neighbourhood this following:

A man and his family, being all in bed, about after midnight, awake in bed, he could perceive a light entering a little room where he lay, and, one after another, of some a dozen in the shape of men, and two or three women, with small children in their arms, entering in, and they seemed to dance, and the room to be far lighter and wider than formerly; they did seem to eat bread and cheese all about a kind of tick upon the ground; they offered him meat, and would smile upon him; he could perceive no voice, but he once calling to God to bless him, he could perceive the whisper of a voice in Welch, bidding him hold his peace; being about four hours thus, he did what he could to awake his wife, and could not; they went out into another room, and after some dancing departed; and then he arose, yet being but a very small room he could not find the door, nor the way into bed, until crying out, his wife and family awaked. Being within about two miles of me, I

sent for the man, who is an honest poor husbandman, and of good report; and I made him believe I would put him to his oath for the truth of this relation, who was very ready to take it.

The second (if you have not formerly heard,) the strange and usual, appearance of lights (called in Welch, *dead men's candles)* before mortality. This is ordinary in most of our counties, that I never scarce heard of any sort, young or old, but this is seen before death, and often observed to part from the very bodies of the persons all along the way to the place of burial, and infallibly death will ensure. Now, Sir, it is worth your resolution, whether this may proceed from God, or no; it is commonly imputed to the igneous air of the counties. But that evil spirits can come by so much knowledge, as to be always so infallible (though herein I confess them very vast,) and be so favorable and officious unto man, as to be such seasonable monitors of his dissolution, and to give so much discovery of spiritual essences, and the immortality; I doubt whether they mind us so much good as this: Some wiles I confess they may have by such appearances, but it carries the benefits mentioned with it; whereas their disappearance makes more for infidelity and atheism; but this I leave to your judgment, begging pardon for this boldness in diverting you from your far better thoughts; and seeing it is my happiness to have this little invisible acquaintance with you, I shall

omit no opportunity of troubling you with such poor thoughts as the Lord shall give unto me of the best things, humbly wishing (as for the making up the sad differences of religion among us) the Lord would give those in authority to weigh that pious and wise course you have proposed, as to those four great parties in the Dedication of your "Saints' Rest," with my unfeigned prayers for your health and happiness,

Sir,

Your very thankful Friend
and Servant in Christ,
JOHN LEWIS.

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*Mr. John Lewis's Second Letter.*

As for apparitions, I am stored with so many instances, that require rather a volume. There is that evidence for the candles, that scarce I know any of age but hath see them, and will depose it. There is here a talk, whereof yet I have not certainty, that a daughter of the man mentioned in the last, fetching water at a well, had a blow given her, and a boy coming towards her, she charged him with the blow, who denied he was so near her; but bid her look upon her father, that stood not far off, and with that he could see her father

fling a stone at her, which passed with a mighty violence by her face, and the stone was found with prints of fingers in it; but no such thing as the father there, neither was he at home since the night before. But certain it is, that living men's ghosts are ordinarily seen in these parts, and unawares to the parties. We have in this county several silver and leaden mines, and nothing more ordinary than some subterranean spirits, called knockers (where a good vein is,) both heard, and after seen, little statured, about half a yard long; this very instant, there are miners upon a discovery of a vein upon my own lands, upon this score, and two offered oath they heard them in the day-time. Lieutenant Colonel Bowen, I hear, is upon discovery, that what you heard was witchcraft, but he holds canting tents; all which minds us to more to admire the King of Spirits, our Lord God Almighty, and that our eyes behold but the least part of his secrets and marvels; to whose arms and blessings I commit and leave you.

Sir,
I pray pardon this trouble of
Your very thankful Servant,
JOHN LEWIS.

*Glaskerigg,*
*the 28th of November*, 1656.

*Mr. Davis's Letter, concerning the Corps-Candles, in Wales.*

Venerable Sir,

For your worth hath purchased you that stile. With all due respects, you shall hereby understand that I am one who sincerely blesseth himself to have been much edified by you, as being confirmed in some points, and informed in others by a piece of your learned and judicious works, termed by yourself a supplement, and which was communicated to me by my worthy friend and special encourager, John Lewis, Esq., at whose request I am to give you the best satisfaction I can, touching those fiery apparitions which do, as it were, mark out the way for corpses, and that sometimes before the parties themselves fall sick and sometimes in their sickness. Of these I could never hear in England; they are common in these three counties, Cardigan, Caermarthen, and Pembrook, and, as I hear, in some other parts of Wales.

These, in our language, we call CANHWYLLAU CYRTH (i. e. corps-candles,) not that we do see any thing else besides the light, but because that light doth so much resemble a material candle-light as eggs do eggs, saving, that in their journey these candles be *modo apparentes, modo disparentes* especially when one comes near them; and if one

come on the way against them, unto him they vanish, but presently appear behind him, and hold on their course. If it be a little candle, pale, or blueish, then follows the corps either of an abortive, or some infant; if a big one, then the corpse of some one come to age; if there be seen two or three, or more, some big, some small, together, then so many, and such corpses together; if two candles come from divers places, and be seen to meet, the corpses will the like; if any of these candles be seen to turn sometimes a little out of the way, or path, that leadeth unto the church, the following corpse will be found to turn in that very place, for the avoiding of some dirty lane, or plash, &c. Now let us fall to evidence: Being about the age of fifteen, dwelling at Lanylar, late at night, some neighbours saw one of these candles hovering up and down along the river bank, until they were weary in beholding: at last they left it so, and went to bed; a few weeks after came a proper damsel from Montgomeryshire to see her friends, who dwelleth on the other side of that river Istwyth, and thought to ford the river at that very place where the light was seen; but being dissuaded by some lookers on (some, its most like, of those that saw the light,) to adventure on the water, which was high, by reason of a flood, she walked up and down along the river bank, even where, and even as the foresaid candle did, waiting for the falling of the water, which at last

she took; but too soon for her, for she was drowned therein.

Some thirty-four or thirty-five years be-gone, one Jane Wyat my wife's sisters, being nurse to Baronet Rudd's three eldest children, and (the lady mistris being deceased) the lady controuler of that house, going late into a chamber where the maid-servant lay, saw there no less than five of these lights together. It happened a while after the chamber being newly plaistered, and a great grate of coal-fire therein, kindled to hasten the drying up of the plaistering, that five of the maid-servants went there to bed, as they were wont, but (as it fell out) too soon, for in the morning they were all dead, being suffocated (I conceive) in their sleep with the steam of the new tempered lime and coal. This was at Llangathen, in Carmarthenshire.

Another kind of apparition we have, which commonly we call Tan-we, or Tan-wed, because it seemeth fiery. This appeareth to our seeming, in the lower region of the air, straight and long, not so much unlike a glaive, moors and shoots directly and level, (as who would say, I'll hit,) but far more showly than *Stellæ cadentes*, or star shot, lighteneth all the air and ground where it passeth, lasted three or four miles, and more, for ought is known, because no man seeth the rising or beginning of it; when it falls to the ground it sparkleth, and lighteneth all about. These, before their

decease, do fall upon freeholders lands, and you shall scarce bury any such with us, be he but a lord of a house and garden, but you shall find some one at his burial, at leastwise in his neighbourhood, that had seen this fire to fall on some part of his lands. Two of these, at several times I have seen myself, since I studied meteors, and since I was a minister, and narrowly observed, even till they began to fall, but the interposition of grounds marred the conclusion; for where, and how they fell, I saw not; but where I did guess they fell, there died in the one place an aged gentleman; in the other, a freeholder too, though of a meaner rank.

To come nearer home—My mother's first husband (for my father married her a widow) walking about his ground, saw one of these darts, or piles, aloft, which fell down hard by him, shone far, and sparkled round about his body, he took it for a warning piece, made his will, and having lived in good health, some four or five months after died.

A little before the decease of mine own father, aged ninety-six, a son-in-law of his, who dwelled two miles off (but upon higher ground,)saw such another fall in a close behind the old man's house, which gave such a light, that by it he did clearly see the house, the hedges, and the oaks in the wood adjoining.

Sir, so many of these evidences, as I saw not

myself, I received from understanding and credible persons, and such as would not lie, no, not for a benefice; and yourself may receive the same from me, as from one that was never too credulous, nothing superstitious, and as little ceremonious. These secrets I dare not father upon Satan; I will not honour him so much, so much as to ascribe to him the knowledge of contingent futures. I presume that of himself, he cannot certainly know whether or when a healthy man shall sicken, nor whether or when he shall die of his sickness, nor whether he shall die by sickness, or by fire or water, &c., nor (in and open country especially) which way, of two, three, or more, the corps shall be brought to church, whether it shall meet another corps in the way, whether it shall pass a river by the ford or bridge, how many stops, turnings and windings it shall make, Satan can have no certain foreknowledge of all such circumstances, and more; but this candle maker and director of them too foresees and fore knows them all, and therefore must needs be the Creator, who, as according to the good pleasure of his will, he hath determined and allotted to several nations their several habitations, dispositions, and conditions, even so (as I suppose) hath he vouchsafed to each of them some peculiar signs and tokens, if none to some, which I cannot believe, and if to some more, and more wonderful that to other some, for my part, I can give no other reason for it but his will.

This, with my hearty prayers for yourself, your pious and learned brethren of the association.

I rest your Friend, in all kind offices that lay in my power,

*Generglyn,* JOHN DAVIS.

the 10th March, 1656.

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*Several other Letters and Relations concerning Apparitions and Witchcrafts.*

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*Mr. Thomas Tilson, Minister of Aylesworth, in Kent; this Letter concerning an Apparition in Rochester, this present Year,* 1691.

Reverend Sir,

Being informed that you are writing about witchcraft and apparitions, I take the freedom, though a stranger, to send you this following relation:—

Mary, the wife of John Goffe, of Rochester, being afflicted with a long illness, removed to her father's house at West Mulling, which is about nine miles distant from her own: there she died, June the 4th, this present year, 1691.

The day before her departure, she grew very impatiently desirous to see her two children, whom she had left at home, to the care of a nurse. She prayed her husband to hire a horse, for she must go home, and die with her children. When they persuaded her to the contrary, telling her she was not fit to be taken out of her bed, nor able to sit on horseback; she entreated them, however, to try; "If I cannot sit," said she, "I will lie all along upon the horse, for I must go and see my poor babes."

A minister who lives in the town, was with her at ten o'clock that night, to whom she expressed good hopes in the mercies of God, and a willingness to die; "But," said she, "it is my misery that I cannot see my children."

Between one and two o'clock in the morning she fell into a trance. One widow Turner, who watched with her that night, says, that her eyes were opened and fixed, and her jaw fallen; she put her hand upon her mouth and nostrils, but could perceive no breath, she thought her to be in a fit, and doubted whether she were alive or dead.

The next day, this dying woman told her mother, that she had been at home with her children. "That is impossible," said the mother, "for you have been here in bed all the while."—"Yes," replied the other, "but I was with them last night, when I was asleep."

The nurse at Rochester, widow Alexander by

name, affirms and says she will take her oath on it before a magistrate, and receive the sacrament upon it, that a little before two o'clock that morning, she saw the likeness of the said Mary Goffe come out of the next chamber (where the elder child lay in a bed by itself, the door being left open,) and stood by her bed-side for about a quarter of an hour; the younger child was there lying by her; her eyes moved, and her mouth went, but she said nothing. The nurse moreover says, that she was perfectly awake, it was then day-light, being one of the longest days in the year. She sat up in her bed, and looked steadfastly upon the apparition; in that time she heard the bridge clock strike two, and awhile after said, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what art thou?" Thereupon the appearance removed, and went away; she slipped on her clothes and followed, but what became of it she cannot tell. Then, and not before, she began to be grievously affrighted, and went out of doors, and walked upon the wharf (the house is just by the river side) for some hours, only going in now and then to look to the children. At five o'clock she went to a neighbour's house, and knocked at the door, but they would not rise; at six she went again, then they arose and let her in. She related to them all that had passed; they would persuade her she was mistaken, or dreamt, but she confidently affirmed, "If ever I saw her in all my life, I saw her this night."

One of those to whom she made the relation (Mary, the wife of John Sweet) had a messenger come from Mulling that forenoon, to let her know her neighbour Goffe was dying, and desired to speak with her; she went over the same day, and found her just departing. The mother, amongst other discourse, related to her how much her daughter had longed to see the children, and said she had seen them. This brought to Mrs. Sweet's mind what the nurse had told her that morning, for till then, she had not thought to mention it, but disguised it rather, as the woman's disturbed imagination.

The substance of this I had related to me by John Carpenter, the father of the deceased, next day after her burial, July the second. I fully discoursed the matter with the nurse, and two neighbours, to whose house she went that morning.

Two days after, I had it from the mother, the minister that was with her in the evening, and the woman who sat up with her that last night: they all agree in the same story, and every one helps to strengthen the others' testimony.

They appear to be sober, intelligent persons, far enough from designing to impose a cheat upon the world, or to manage a lie, and what temptation they should lie under for so doing I cannot conceive.

Sir, that God would bless your pious endeavors

for the conviction of Atheists and Sadducees, and the promoting of true religion and godliness; and that this narrative may conduce somewhat towards the furthering of that great work, is the hearty desire and prayer of

Your most faithful Friend,
and humble servant,
THOS. TILSON.

*Aylesford,*
July, 6, 1691.

*Minister of Aylesford, near Maidstone, in Kent.*

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*Mr. Thomas Woodcocke's Letter in relation to Witches and Apparitions; together with four stories inclosed therein, all relating to the same subject.*

Sir,

I HAVE herein sent you those four stories I had the remembrance of, when I was with you last, which I have subscribed my name to. But who can prove anything rationally to them who have not so much reason as to know their own souls? All of this tribe are of that mind, to believe nothing but what they see themselves. But, as Religio Medici says, "The devil hath them in too fast a noose, for to appear to them would be to

convert them from their error. He rather delights to be their god than to prove himself a devil, and so torment their thoughts too soon. They assert and admire the omnipotency of matter, but in the mean time are insensible of the spring of motion: they are so full of seconds they will not own a first mover." It is strange arithmetic, that two should not suppose one, and as bad geometry to have circumference without a centre. But I fear you will but spend arguments on them who are resolved not to yield to any evidence, for it is the interest of their lusts neither to believe God nor a devil. Yet I remember a story of one at Colchester, who in a bravado, and defiance of the devil, would walk in the night to the church-yard, where it was reported he appeared and walked, and he met him in the shape of a black dog, with terrible eyes which brought him by terrors into such a mind, that he was never quiet in his mind till he got into good society. Coming to Mr. Shepherd's at Colne, Mr. Harlakenden stayed him, though Mr. Shepherd was gone. He lodged there, and when at prayer, the black dog was seen by the man as if he would have torn Mr. Harlakenden's throat out but he was in his house and duty, and neither saw nor feared. And this man continued long in his condition, proved a most serious Christian, always had some appearance of this dog, as a fly, or a flea and various shapes; and even at his death, lying long sick, had great peace and victory over the

fear of death, and was so joyful and desirous to be dissolved, that this dog or flea made no impression upon; when, had it been a melancholy fancy, it would have been worst at so dark an hour, when the humours are up and the spirits down. This story I had also from Mr. Harlakenden, but it is not to be cast before such swine as this Epicurean age abounds with, who, if Christ himself was on earth, with the Gadarenes, would rather get rid of him, than lose their herd of hogs. But I tire you, the Lord support you, and give you the joy of faith, the blessed prospect of hope, and that cordial of love, which is stronger than death.

I am,
Your worthless Brother,
and Servant in the Lord,
T. WOODCOCKE.

*July*, 17, 91.

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*Here follow the four Stories mentioned in the foregoing Letter.*

I. Mr. Mun, rector of Stockerson, in Leicestershire, had a daughter married to one Mr. Beecham rector of Branston, in Rutland, in whose house it was frequently observed, that a tobacco-pipe would move itself from off a shelf at one end of the room

to another shelf at the other end of the room without any hand. Mr. Mun visiting his son-in-law, took a pipe of tobacco in that room and looked for some such motion; but a great Bible, instead of a pipe, moved itself off from a desk at the lower end of the room, and cast itself into his lap. Whereupon he opened the Bible at Gen. iii. 15, saying. "come, Satan, I'll show thee thy doom, The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head. Avoid Satan."

This Mr. Mun himself told me, when, in the sickness year, 1665, I lived in Stockerson-Hall. I have no reason to suspect the veracity of a sober man, a constant preacher, and good scholar.

II. Dr. Lamb, who was killed by the mob for a conjurer, about 1540, met one morning Sir Miles Sands and Mr. Barbor in the street, and invited them to go and drink their morning draught at his house. Discoursing about his art, he told them, if they would hold their tongues, and their hands from meddling with anything, he would show them some sport. So falling to his practice, in the middle of the room springs up a tree; soon after appeared three little fellows, with axes on their shoulders, and baskets in their hands, who presently fell to work, cut down the tree, and carried all away. But Mr. Barbor observing one chip to fall on his velvet coat, he slips it into his pocket. That night, when he and his family were in bed,

and asleep, all the doors and windows in the house opened and clattered so as to awaken and affright them all. His wife said, "Husband, you told me you was at Dr. Lamb's this day, and I fear you meddled with something." He replied, "I put a chip into my pocket."—"I pray you," said she, "fling it out, or we shall have no quiet." He did so, and all the windows and doors were presently shut, and all quiet, so they went to sleep.

Dr Barbor and Major John Barbor, who married my only sister, told me this relation, who had it again and again from their father and mother; and I know no reason to doubt the truth of it. This Mr. Barbor laid the first stone in building of Covent Garden.

III. When I was a school boy at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, about the Scots coming into England, I heard a well, in one Dobs's yard, drum like any drum beating a march. I heard it at a distance; then I went and put my head into the mouth of the well, and heard it distinctly, and no body in the well. It lasted several days and nights, so as all the country people came to hear it. And so it drummed on several changes of times.

When King Charles the Second died, I went to the Oundle carrier, at the Ram Inn, in Smithfield who told me their well had drummed and many people came to hear it. And I heard it drummed once since.

IV. Mr. Harlakenden, who lived at Colne Priory, in Essex (where I often was, his only son being my pupil,) formerly the house of the Earl of Oxford. Off from the house was a tomb-house, with a chamber over it; his butler, Robert Crow, and William, his coachman, used to lie in that room. At two o'clock in the morning there was always the sound of a great bell tolling. They affirming it so, Mr. Harlakenden slept in the evening, so as to be awaked at one o'clock, and lay betwixt his two servants, to satisfy himself. At two o'clock comes the usual sound of a great bell tolling, which put him into a fright and sweat so as he jogged his servants; who awaking, said, "Hark! Tom is at his sport." It revived him to hear them speak. Upon a particular occasion, Mr. Thomas Shepheard (who after went to New England,) with some other ministers and good people, spent a night in prayer, and had some respect to the place, serving God, to cast out the devil; and from that time never was any such noise heard in the chamber.

This I had from Mr. Harlakenden's own mouth and his servants, ear-witness, when I was upon the place.

*Ita Testatur,*

THO. WOODCOCKE.

*Of good Angels, and some doubtful Spirits, and their notable Actions.*

This sort of operations is of more pleasant consideration than the diabolical, and as convincing of the agency of superior spirits on things below; but so many have written of it, as maketh my further labour needless. Let them that would see more, read Mr. Isaac Ambrose of our Communion with Angels, the Lord Lawrence, Mr. Samuel Clark's Mirrour, Zanchy de Angelis, &c.

Bodin tells us of one of his acquaintance, that had a good genius that would always give him notice when he did ill, by a stroke; and what he should do when he omitted it. I pass by old writers.

I will mention now but these few.

I. That of Mr. Tate, in Ireland, mentioned by Mr. Clark and Mr. Ambrose, and confirmed to me by his near relations that knew of it. Dr. Tate, with his wife and children, being stripped, and forced to flee for their lives, by the Irish, when they were murdering thousands, in their rebellion in 1641. They were wandering in unknown places, upon commons covered with snow; and having no food, and she carrying a sucking child, and having no milk, she went to lay down the child to die, and on the brow of a bank she found

a suck-bottle, with sweet milk in it, no footsteps appearing in the snow of any that should bring it thither, and far from any habitation, which preserved the child's life, who after became a blessing to the church.

II. When Prince Rupert marched with his army through Lancashire, to York fight, where he was overthrown, the town of Bolton made some resistance in his passage, and he gave them no quarter, but killed men and women. When he was gone those that escaped came out from the places where they lurked, and an old woman found in the streets a woman killed, and a child by her not dead. The old woman took up the child, and, to still its crying, put her own breast to the child, which had not given suck, as I remember, of above twenty years; the child being quieted, she presently perceived milk to come: and continued to give the child sufficient milk till it was provided for, I had the full assurance of this from my worthy friend Mrs. Hunt, wife to Mr. Rowland Hunt, of Harrow on the Hill; who told me, that she herself was one that was appointed by the committee to make trial of the case, and she found it true, and the old woman's breast to give the child milk as was reported. And she told me in 1665, that the said child was at that time alive, a servant woman in London.

III. Though I lay no great stress on the reports

of those Papists who corrupt church history by fabulous mixtures, yet many histories of the ministry of angels, cited by them out of the fathers, are credible. Those that have purged their legends retain a great number. Baronius, and De la Cerda, and many others, are worth the reading by the judicious, that can discern the different probabilities. But to deny all the ejecting of devils, and the wonders mentioned by Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Sulpitius, Severus, those of Gregory, Thaumaturgus, Martin, &c. (though some may be over-aggravated,) besides those in historians, Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, Victor Vticensis, Procopius, Nicephorus, Theodoret, &c. would be unreasonable and unchristian incredulity. I have formerly mentioned the African bishops, or preachers, who all spake well, when their tongues were cut out by command of the Arian king: and Victor, Ænæas Grazæus, and Procopius (as I remember, all three) said, they saw them, and heard them speak after. But one of them saith, that one of the bishops was after drawn into the sin of fornication and his speech went away again.

IV. In our late war, I knew of many strange preservations. One credible person had a bullet shot through the felt of his hat, and stopped at the lining, and hurt him not. Another had a small Bible in his pocket, and a musket-bullet shot into his Bible, which saved his life.

The story of Sir Richard Greenvile's executions is printed already by Mr. Clark, and others. To confirm it, Mr. Kettleby Woodhouse (sisters son to Justice Kettleby, and to Walter Kettleby, the bookseller's father,) a sober, credible man, then living in Bewdeley, oft told me, that he was one of the five (or seven) whose lives were saved. Being soldiers for the Parliament, and taken prisoners, Sir Richard Greenvile commanded them all to be hanged. The first man being turned off the ladder, a new hempen rope brake; they sent for another, and hanged him again, and that brake, and as I remember, a third; whereupon Sir R. G. saved them all. And Mr. Woodhouse all the while stood by the gallows, expecting his turn, and by this escaped. It is like it was by an invisible power.

V. In 1662 came out divers books of new prodigies, most of them as executions on notorious sinners, and some as deliverances of better men; I read them, and enquired after the matter of facts and I found by what policy Satan hath perverted history, and obscured the honour of God's works, by causing weak-headed, factious persons to overdo. I found many of the strange things there mentioned had sufficient proof, but the writers dropped in many circumstances and stories, by partial credibility, that were not true. And thus frustrated the books and the prodigies, by spoiling the credit of all the rest.

VI. I know not what to impute it to, that lightnings and thunder-bolts fall more upon churches than upon castles and city stone walls, or any such buildings. Jersey Castle, indeed was torn with the gun-powder, set on fire by lightning (as Heydelberg had been, as a presage of the greater evil following.) And what was it but an invisible power that there caused the lord's child, that was govenor, to be blown up, and cast down again on the leads, without hurt? Angels have a special care of infants.

The church that my grandmother was born near, had a ball of fire, by lightning, came in at the belfry window, and turned up the grave stones, and went out at the chancel window.

The church that I was baptized in (High Ercall, close to the Lord Newport's house) had, in such a storm, the leads rolled up, and cast on the back-side of the church, (and, in the war, was levelled with the ground.)

The church of Anthony, in Cornwall, near Plymouth, was torn by lightning at the time of worship, on Whit-Sunday, 1640, and people hurt, and ones brains struck up to a pillar.

So was used much like, the church of Withicombe, in Devonshire, near the same time.

The church where the present Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, his ancestors monuments were, was torn by lightning that came in at the steeple, melted the bells, and went up to

the chancel, and there tore the monuments in pieces. I saw pieces of the monuments, that had some of the golden letters, which a truly worthy lady brought home, that went from Tunbridge-Waters to see the church.

Many and many churches have been thus torn, proportionably so much beyond all other buildings, especially of stone, that I cannot but think there is some knowing agent that maketh the choice, though I know not who, nor why.

Except a few hay-ricks, I remember not that, till this seventy-sixth year of my age, I have known lightnings to have had hurting power on any buildings but churches, save very rarely, and small (as this last year at Islington, it entered a house and killed a woman and child,) nor to have torn any wood but oak (which in trees and buildings, I have seen torn where I dwelt.) But divers persons have been killed and scorched by it. An eminent knight, that I knew, is commonly said to have been struck dead by it in his garden.

VII. Though Porphyry, and Proclus, and Jamblicus, tells us that bad demons will oft speak for good actions, and against bad, in pride and subtilty to be thought good, yet it is hard to think that it is not rather a good spirit, that speaks for some notable good work, where no by-end is discernable. As that mentioned by Mr. Glanvil and Dr. More of Dr. Britton's wife, whose likeness ap-

peared after death to her servant-maid, and showed her a parcel of land that was as part of her brother's, and told her it belonged to the poor, and was unjustly alienated from them, and bid her tell the possessor, that he must restore it, and gave her a secret to tell him if he refused: and upon the angry refusal, when he heard the secret, he yielded and restored the land to the poor, who now possess it.

VIII. The said heathen philosophers say, that they are all bad spirits that seek to be worshipped, and that to procure it, they will seem to be religious, but will tell many lies for one truth; and that lying is a chief mark to know them by. By this I suspect that there are bad spirits that come to speak for getting so many masses to be said for them to deliver them from Purgatory, and such pilgrimages to be performed. And those that tempt the people to pray to them and to honor them, for their services and prayers for them, of which their legends abound with instances. De la Cerda concludeth his book of angels with forms of such prayers. And what office hath not such? De la Cerda, lib. 23, citeth miraculous appearances of the cross, and so do many others, which I leave to the reader's judgment. As also the Lady of Lauretto's miracles, and others such, which many write of.

In my "Unreasonableness of Infidelity," having many other testimonies of Satan's war against Christ and his kingdom, I will here mention one, which elsewhere also I have mentioned; and that is the case of melancholy, distracted, and enthusiastic persons, which clearly prove a diabolical war.

I. As to melancholy persons. I think few men in England have had more advantage to know their case than I have had. I know not how it cometh to pass, but in the country, and in London, multitudes that are melancholy are sent by their friends, or of themselves come to me, imagining that I can counsel them for soul and body; so that they have taken up a great part of my time. And in almost all I perceive, besides their disease, that a milignant spirit, by advantage of it, doth agitate them incessantly against God and Jesus Christ, and against themselves, as he acteth witches to do mischief to others. I know that the disease itself, is to the imagination, as disquieting as a dislocation or lameness is to a joint: but there is some malignant spirit that driveth it so importunately to mischief. They are constantly tempted to self-tormenting thoughts, to despair, and cry, "Undone, undone;" and to think that the day of grace is past, and that they have committed the unpardonable sin, and anything that may keep their minds on a tormenting rack.

And they are strongly at last tempted to destroy themselves. If they see a knife, they feel as if one within them said, "Now cut thy throat, or stab thyself; do it, do it." If they go by water, they feel as if one urged them presently to leap in. And often are they urged vehemently to hang themselves, or to cast themselves headlong from some high place. And, alas! many do it. And it is so in other lands, as well as here. How many doth Platerus, in his Observations, tell us of, that near him, in Helvetia, destroyed themselves.

And it is to be noted, that unless it be God's judgment for some heinous crime, it is few of the ungodly rabble that have any such trouble and temptation, for Satan holds them faster by presumptuous unbelief, and carelessness, and worldly love, and pleasure: but those that will not be so deceived, that he cannot torment hereafter, he would torment here. Alas! divers persons have I known thus destroy themselves, who I have great reason to believe were as really godly as any that I have known.

But Satan's advantage was in their disease and temper. As he can tempt a phlegmatic man to sloth, and a choleric man to anger, and a sanguine man to lust, or sinful pleasure, so can he a melancholy man to despair and self-destruction, and against God.

2. And they are impetuously tempted against God and Jesus Christ. They are so haunted with

blasphemous thoughts, to think ill of God, or to deny Christ or the Scripture, that they have no rest. And these come in at prayer, at sermon, at sacrament; and they have no more power to keep them out, or turn their thoughts another way, almost, than they have of the thoughts of another.

I have oft marvelled that the worst are not as commonly distracted by sadness as better people. But besides the reason before given, there is a peculiar sin that bringeth this of its nature, and so lets the devil in, and that is—over-valuing some worldly thing, and then falling into discontent and impatience of the loss or want of it. He that breaks down his own hedge or wall, lets in the trespasser or thief. He that cannot take God and heaven as enough to content him, is better without his idol, than to find content in it. 'Tis meet that child be left to cry, that will cry if he may not have his will; and that will hurt him worse than crying. He that will add to God's corrections the self-torment of sinful impatience, shall find Satan ready to farther his work. God is disobliged when he is not trusted. And if we consent not that he do with us what he will, he will not do what we impose upon him. His wisdom, and not our flesh and folly, must determine of all his ways and work.

II. And there have been many enthusiastics that Satan hath notoriously deluded, by pretended

angelical revelation, for some great increase of knowledge. You may find many sad instances in Epiphanius, and other histories of the old hereticks. And few ages since have been without some such.

The madness of John of Leyden's Munster rebels showed it. What zeal and seeming fortitude did their deceiving spirit inspire them with, while by murders they cryed up their new Zion? Leo Juda witnesseth, that when the flesh was pulled off Clipperdolling with hot pincers, he scarce uttered a complaint, or great regard of the pain.

Satan's hand was notorious in the delusions of David George in Holland, and of Hacket, Coppinger, and Arthington here.

The horrid wickedness of the Ranters here proclaimed him to be their teacher.

When the Quakers first rose here, their societies began like witches, with quaking, and vomitting, and infecting others with breathing on them, and tying ribbon on their hands. And their actions, as well as their doctrine, shewed their master. When some, as prophecying, walked through the streets of cities naked; and some vainly undertook to raise the dead (as Susan Pierson at Worcester.) And usually they disturbed and publicly reviled the most godly ministers worse than the most debauched of the rabble did.

He that would know how manifestly Satan ruled such enthusiasts in Germany, may read it at

large in Beckman's Exercitations, and in the life of Paracelsus, testified by Opporinus, that lived with him as his servant, and others that were affrighted with his drunken rage and Satanical converse.

And how dangerous it is to desire such converse with angels and spirits, as God hath not judged suitable to our condition here in the flesh, the case of Jacob Behmen and Dr. Pordage here, and his society, may tell us. His chief proselyte, companion, and successor (whose name I mention not for the sake of his worthy kindred,) condescended to open secretly to me in writing his judgment, by which I soon saw that their guide differed much from the Scripture. One of extraordinary learning and reputation was awhile distracted by going to them to try their way. Some of my very much esteemed friends have been distracted, and overcome with melancholy, by studying Behmen, and that way. What Dr. Pordage his doctrine was, you may see partly in his "Posthumous Mystical Theology," published by his friend Dr. Hooker. Mr. Fowler, of Reading, accused him as a conjuror, and he hath published his defence in folio (which I may the rather mention, because in it he hath made use of my name against Mr. Fowler, as speaking against me, for our difference in explaining the doctrine of imputed righteousness.) In this defence, the Doctor confesseth that the devil was too familiar in his house (where a society

lived with him that kept their exercises and hours of singing night and day.) He (and his friends) pretended that he knew when good spirits and when bad ones are about him, by smells and gusts, and the temper of their sense and spirits. And he confesseth, that in his great room the devil appeared to him by night in the likeness of a fiery dragon, that almost filled the room, and long conflicted with him. And that once he made on the brick wall, over his chimney, the likeness of a coach drawn by tigers, so deeply impressed, that they were fain to use a pick-axe to cut it out of the bricks. And that the like impression was on the glass of his windows, which he could not wash out. But all this he imputed to Everard, that intruded into his society, taking him to be the conjuror. And he saith, that when he was gone he appeared to him in the night, walking in his chamber in boots and spurs. So that diabolical apparitions and open effects were confessed by him, as his book declareth.

The Rosie-Crucians, and such as addict themselves to the philosopher's stone, have some of them seemed to be deluded by some evil spirit, by the violence of their desires, and the blind confidence of their expectations, and the ill means that some have used. Histories of such are too many to be recited. Fælix Platerus, in his Observat. lib. i., tells us of one of his familiars, a person of honour and wealth, a baron, and religious, and addicted to

good works, that was so set upon it, that he not only so spent his time and study, but his estate, reducing himself and his family to great poverty, and yet would never abate his confidence that he was near attaining it; and though still frustrate, he was still near it; insomuch that he labored with the magistrates for their grant and power, that with the gold he made he might build a new bridge over the river, and might build a college for the university, &c., and though he died a poor man, and left his children poor, he believed to the last that he was near finding out what he sought, had he had longer life.

To such deluded by spirits, I think I may add the comforts of many persons that I have known, that long lived in doubt of their salvation, next despair. And when a deceiver hath but drawn them to change their religion from sound doctrine to some error, they have presently been delivered from their troubles, and lived in peace and confidence. It cannot be from the nature of the new doctrines received, for it befals divers that turn to contrary doctrines from each other. Some that turn Papists, some that turn Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, some Millenaries, and are against each other, yet have sudden peace upon their change. I confess, that the conceit of having found out a better way may do much; and the diversion of their thoughts to dispute may do much. As Pet. Forestus tells us of a melancholy

Papist, that, after other means used in vain, was at last cured by eager disputing against the Protestants. But when the persons before had no doubt of the doctrines of religion, but only of the state of their own souls, and when they had no such disputes to bring them to it but sudden hearing a seducer, and when it is only false doctrine that comforteth them, when sound doctrine professed, could not, it seemeth to be done by a lying spirit that comforteth men with evil, as God's spirit doth with good.

To what sort shall we rank those that tell men of things stolen and lost, and that shew men the face of the thief in a glass, and cause the goods to be brought back, who are commonly called white witches? We have had so many credible reports of such, as alloweth not reason to doubt of it. When I lived at Dudley, Hodges, at Sedgley, two miles off (even where famous William Fenner preached,) was long and commonly accounted such a one. And when I lived at Kidderminster, one of my neighbours affirmed, that having his yarn stolen, he went to Hodges (ten miles off,) and he told him that at such an hour he should have it brought home again, and put in at the window, and so it was; and, as I remember, he showed him the person's face in a glass; yet I do not think that Hodges made any known contract with the devil, but thought it was an effect of art.

*Other strange Providences observable.*

I HAVE, in other treatises, named some instances of such success of prayer, as hath not been unprofitable to me: I will here mention some of them, and add some more.

Only I will premise this caution to the reader:

1. That it is no certain sign of the innocency or sanctity of the person delivered that it was done by a wonderful manner upon prayer. Nay, it is not unusual for the guilt of some great sin to bring the suffering from which by prayer they are delivered; and God may hear others for the deliverance of such sinners.

2. Nor is it any certain sign of the sanctity of those whose prayers are so heard (though it be a very encouraging mercy to them,) and more than prophecying, and casting out devils, and doing wonderful works in the name of Christ, Matt. vii. was a proof that the agents were not rejected workers of iniquity. It is the honor of God, and the regard which he hath to the faith and prayers of the distressed, or others, and of the souls that he would convince, which these and such like instances do declare.

3. And I will omit many instances of persons recovered from the jaws of death, just at the hour while we have been praying for them; for though this be much to me, it will not be so to the unbe-

liever, who will say that it was not from that cause, but would have been if you had not prayed. And I must confess that I have prayed for the life of many a dear friend, whom God hath not recovered, but taken away.

4. Nor will I mention any one instance of the success of my own prayers, or any others, when I joined with them, but only of some plain, poor, humble, godly persons, who used that sort of fervent prayer which some deride. For I am a very unworthy person myself, in comparison of many of those poor, humble, blameless persons, whom I then had the oversight of.

I. In general, I may say, that I have divers times, after long disabling weakness and pain, been enabled within a day or two to come to church again, and go on in my work, when my poor neighbours have spent a day in fasting and prayer for me.

II. When at Milborne, in Derbyshire, I was given up for dead, by bleeding about an hundred and twenty ounces at the nose, after other weakness and bleeding many years: my father and mother-in-law dwelling in Shrewsbury, the report came to them there that I was dead. My mother-in-law was, by the governor and other friends, exhorted to bear it patiently. She presently retired to secret prayer, where she professeth, that a

trembling and concussion of her body surprizing her, she felt that which constrained her to say what she did when she came forth (to her friends) *viz.* "He is not dead, but shall live for further service." And hereupon they sent a messenger from Shrewsbury to see, who found me alive, and brought them the tidings. This was in February 1646. My mother-in-law is yet living, about ninety-two years of age; the daughter of Sir Thomas Hunkes. Two of her brothers, Sir Foulke Hunkes and Sir Henry Hunkes, were known soldiers for the king, the one governor of Shrewsbury, and the other of Banbury Castle awhile. She is one that hath spent a great part of her life in secret prayer, with great neglect of the flesh and world, and longing to die and be with Christ which she hath not yet obtained, but will ere long. (Since the writing of this, dead, at ninety-six, in full understanding and great holiness.)

III. After long pain and weakness, reading a Latin book of one Gerhard, a foreign physician, I found in him, that his own father had been cured of some of my distempers (as I then thought,) by daily swallowing a bullet of purest gold: I got one of the weight of a twenty shilling piece, and swallowed it, but it remained in me; and hearing of a gentleman within twelve miles of me that did the like, and it never passed from him, but he quickly died, made me take clysters and purges,

but none of them stirred it. My poor praying neighbours (not then fearing the canon which strictly forbiddeth it) set apart a day to fast and pray for my deliverance; and that morning it came away, after many weeks abode (three or four,) and they spent the rest of the day in thanksgiving.

IV. In my weakness, being under physic with Dr. Wright, then living in Shrewsbury, there suddenly rose upon one of the tonsils of my throat a round tumour, seeming to me as hard as a bone and about as big as a great pease, or great button, half out of the flesh, and half in. I feared lest it would prove a cancer; but the doctor told me he did not think so, but what it was he knew not; but persuaded (having first tried dissolving and dissipating means in vain) to quiet it only with gargarisms of hot milk. It increased but little, but no means altered it, till, as I remember, about a quarter of a year after, my concience reproved me, that having had so many great mercies upon prayer, I never gave God the honor of thanks of publicly mentioning them, for fear of seeming to seek some glory to myself. Being the next morning to preach my lecture, I obeyed my conscience, and mentioned them in the words since printed and published in the second part of my "Saints' Everlasting Rest," being then upon the proof of the truth of the Scriptures: I had before constantly felt it, and too oft looked at it in the glass.

As soon as I had preached and spoken those words, I felt no more of it. As I came out of the pulpit, I put my finger in my mouth to feel it, but could feel nothing. I hasted home to the glass, and saw that there was neither *vola*, *vel vestigium*, *vel cicatrix;* no cavity, tumour, discolouring, nor any sign where ever it was; and I am sure I neither spit it out, nor swallowed it; and to the last hour it seemed as hard as a bone.

V. Richard Cookes, a mercer in Kniver, was long a man of a pious, unblameable life, and one of the chiefs of good old Mr. John Cross (since minister here in Friday-street,) his congregation. When I came to Kidderminster, he removed thither, and took a house the next door to me; which proved old, dangerous, and so ill a bargain, as cast him into melancholy doubts that he did not well to leave his habitation. His father before him had long lived, and at last died in distraction. Taking too much hot waters to comfort him in his sadness, nature, trouble, and those together, prevailed to his utter distraction. He so continued from 1642 to 1646. The best means, by such as were most noted for curing that disease, were used, and all in vain. My neighbours of Kidderminster resolved not easily to give over fasting and praying with him and for him, till he was recovered: divers days all seemed in vain, but at last he amended, and hath been recovered (without

any other remedy) now from 1646 to this present time, 1678, though not altogether of so perfect strength of brain as before, yet of competent understanding. About a year or two ago I saw him in London, and I hear he is yet alive and well, 1678.

VI. Thomas Giles, the son of Mr. Giles, of Astley, one of the then committee in Worcestershire, was sent to be an apprentice in Worcester. After a fever (as they told me,) he fell into a violent epilepsie; after much physic in Worcester, and opening his head, and all in vain, his mother took him home to her in Kidderminster, where, being a widow, she came to sojourn, purposely for the company of godly people there. Mr. Jackson, the physician of the town, my dear and faithful friend, now (1678) a physician in Shrewsbury, and I consulting, we used in vain what means we could. His fits were sometimes twice or thrice a day. We were fain to put a key into his mouth lest he should bite off his tongue. At last, the foresaid praying persons resolved to try the old remedy of fasting and praying till he was recovered. The first day they found no success. As I remember, it was the second day, while they were together praying, he was suddenly cured; and as his mother and they that dwelt with him told me, had never one fit since. Hereupon his mother bound him apprentice to Mr. John Allen, an ho-

nest apothecary in Kidderminster, whom he served seven years, and is now an apothecary in Stafford since dead; Mr. Allen, the physician, and almost all that prayed for him, being yet alive. I was present at none of all these days myself. If you ask me, Why?—1. My weakness, and my public work, much hindered me. 2. I was worse than they, and had not their faith, and fervency, and patience; and because we have no absolute promise of such deliverances, I was afraid lest if we fasted and prayed so long as they resolved to do, it would have turned to some reproach or discouragement if we did not prevail. 3. But I have joined with them more than once, when we have to our encouragement, prevailed. But those instances I promised to pretermit.

I have read and heard of several persons that have had notices by revelation when they should die. I will give here but one instance of an excellent young man, Mr. Tryo; but I must confess that one of his acquaintance affirmed to me, that having been formerly of a jocund, merry temper he became so very serious in religion, and so fervent a preacher in Ongar, and so zealous for his own and other men's salvation, that he thought melancholy might deceive his imagination as to the voice he was confident he heard. I lay no great stress on the instance, but he professed the contrary himself; and Mr. Brand extols him, and

Colonel Rich and his lady did both believe him: and Mr. Davis telling me how common the forewarnings of death are in their country, maketh it the easier to me to believe the words of so good and sober a man as Mr. Tyro.

In sum, I verily believe that I have been kept alive these forty years, but notably these thirty-eight, by the prayers of many better than myself prevailing with God, through the intercession of our great Mediator.

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*Colonel Rich, of Stondon Hall, in Essex, his Letter in relation to Mr. Tyro; together with his Lady's relating to the same person.*

Sir,

Our neighbour Mr. Hatt, informing your desire to know from myself and wife the relation of a providence more than ordinary, with which Mr. Tyro was exercised before he came a sick resident under my roof, I must therefore refer you to the account, which my wife herewith gives you, the truth whereof I am fully satisfied, which was from Mr. Tyro's own mouth to her only, when I was at London, the narrative of which she gave me at large the same night I returned home, though I was confirmed in my belief of it by some discourse

I had with him afterwards, during his sickness, before which he and I perused several of your tractates made public, with a joint-pleasing approbation, especially that which is intitled "The Dying Thoughts;" also another viz. "The Crucifying the World by the Cross of Christ," we having a mutual satisfaction in each other's converse; his natural parts, gifts and grace together, with his holy life, constrained my desire and endeavours to accommodate him to his last breath for I found him a true disciple of Christ our Lord and Master, in whom I would also be found,

Sir,
Your affectionate Servant
NATH. RICH.

*Stondon Hall, near Ongar in Essex, May* 16, 1691.

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*The Lady Rich's Letter.*

Sir,

In obedience to your desire by Mr. Hatt, to have it under my hand what he told you of Mr. Tyro, who was sent by Mr. Brand, at Bishop's Hall, near London, to preach at Ongar in Essex, and to prevent mistakes, I think fit, in order to

your satisfaction, to give you this account of him and therein take occasion to let you know how great an honour and esteem he had for you. Sir, I believe, had you known him, you would have rank'd him among those worthies that you have helped to heaven, for he followed you as you follow Christ. About seven weeks before his death, when there was hope of recovery, he told me he had something to tell me that he had not imparted to any body, and expressed it thus:—When I was one evening returning to my lodging, then at Ongar, from this house, being then in good degree of health, and in a serious frame meditating by the way, I heard a voice say, "You shall die, and not pass your five-and-thirtieth year of age; which voice astonished me greatly, and looking round about me, seeing no body, put me into great consternation and sweat all over me, such as I never felt (though I dare not compare it to drops of blood,) yet I cannot express how dreadful it was. You know, Madam, my principles, and that I am no enthusiast, and how cautious I am as to revelations. But I am sure this was no melancholy fancy, but an auricular voice. After I had a little recovered myself, I begged of God to discover to me if this were from him, or a delusion from Satan, but still the impression remained, though I sought God by prayer most part of that night; and you may remember, in my next visit,

I told you I should die shortly, but I did not tell you of the voice I heard. And then he added, This is my five-and-thirtieth year of age, in July next I shall be so old. And many other expressions he added, which is too much for a letter, but he died in January 1630. I cannot omit, Sir, to let you know how mnch he desired the happiness of a personal converse with you; though he did write to you formerly, when he was under great trouble of conscience, and you were pleased to write to him again, though his name was unknown to you, and God made you instrumental to his relief and comfort. He told me, whenever he heard you preach there was such a presence of God accompanied your ministry, that he felt both fear and trembling, and joy possess him at once. He reading some book of yours daily whilst he was in my house, especially your "Dying Thoughts," which on his death-bed he sent, as the best token of his love, to his schoolmaster at Hackney, Mr. Odely, and shed many tears upon it, calling it *the sweet and dear companion of his life*, charging the messenger to bid his master read it, and prepare to follow him shortly.

I beg your pardon for this long trouble, I could do no less than express this kindness to the dead, who yet speaks out your great worth to me, desiring your prayers that his loss to so dark a corner as ours is may be sanctified. And that your life

may be prolonged in time, and you may have a full reward in eternity, is the prayer of,

Sir,

Your obliged and
Affectionate Servant,
ELIZ. RICH.

*Stondon Hall, near Ongar in Essex, May* 13, 1691.

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But it is not my business to mention all things that are strange and unusual, but such as prove the operations of spirits. Lycosthenes de Prodigiis vel Mirabilibus will tell you in folio of wonders.

There are many things that ignorance causeth multitudes to take for prodigies. I have had many discreet friends that have been affrighted with the noise called a death-watch, whereas I have since, near three-score years ago, oft found by trial, that it is a noise made upon paper by a little nimble running worm just like a louse, but whiter and quicker; and it is most usually behind a paper pasted to a wall, especially to wainscot; and is rarely, if ever, heard but in the heat of summer.

But who can deny it to be a prodigy which is

recorded by Melch. Adamus, of a great and good man, who had a clock-watch that had lain in a chest many years unused; and when he lay dying, at eleven o'clock, of itself, in that chest, it struck eleven in the hearing of many.

Because many have spoken and written of a thorn at Glastonbury, in Sommertshire, that flowereth just on Christmas-day, I thought it a thing worthy my best enquiries. And lest man proceed to think that there is more in it than there is, I annex these following letters from credible persons that were well known in the country.

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*Mr. William Thoma's Letter concerning the Glaston Thorn; together with two other Enclosed Letters to the same purpose.*

Sir,

UNDERSTANDING by my son your desire to enquire about Glaston Thorn, I did immediately (being not able to travel myself in such a season) send to such as I thought might best inform me, whose information you have in the two inclosed letters; the one from the minister of Glaston, the other from Mr. Chetwind, pastor at Wells, both of them understanding and godly men. I was not satisfied with Mr. Winney's let-

ter, because he wrote not of the graff taken from this thorn, now growing, when the old thorn is gone. Something it seems there was in the nature of the plant, for that graff shoots forth much sooner than any other thorn, and about that time though it do not the feat in blossoming just on the day, but after it, which may be because the soil is not so suitable to it, as that was to the other. I should have thought that had been all the wonder, *viz.* the natural, rare, and rath blooming of that thorn, got perhaps from foreign parts, made (by Fame) to cry Christmas ; but that the information in the first letter (and testimony) is so punctual, that it seems to evince more. But, howsoever, that which we call Christmas-day is not to gain its estimation from such a providence, but from scripture, from reason, at least from a due demonstration that that was, indeed, the day of Christ's birth, which, perhaps, nothing will prove unless it be the thorn. I speak not against the custom of the church in remembering the birth of Christ, though I conceive Christ's own day is better for it than any other—I mean the Lord's Day, unto which, when men's days be added, the Lord's Day, and the Lord of that day, suffer by their justling with it. A subordination will not serve, but it ariseth to a co-ordination and competition, yea, a prelation.

But that I speak of is, the nobilitating of an uncertain day, upon insufficient evidence. If I

should say, the thorn might so blossom (by Providence) as a just hardening of the wilfully superstitious (a great part of whose religion it is to put a crown upon Christmas day, caring little for Christ,) or as a trial of the truly conscientious, to see whether they will build their religion upon a famous thorn, and be so tamed by it as to close with the superstition and profaneness of that time. I say, if I should speak thus, it might be thought a paradox, and yet I remember your lights in Wales, which shew (I think) what God gives the devil leave to do. I shall content myself therefore with sending you the relation, and leave you and others (better able than myself) to consider of it. Only this I may say, that such a providential rarity is too low a thing to put a divinity upon that day: and yet to make it a divine testimony is, I think, the meaning of those that are willing to make the most of it—I do not say the best of it.

With all loving and thankful respects,

I rest, your obliged

Friend and Brother,

*Obley*, WILL. THOMAS.

Feb. 29, 1659.

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*Mr. John Chetwind's enclosed Letter.*

Reverend and much honoured Sir,

In answer to your letter, these are to in-

form you, that the old thorn in the times of the war was rooted up, and is utterly gone; and as for Mr. Gallop's graff, I have inquired of a gentleman that was his patient, and lived divers years in Mr. Gallop's house, and observed the budding and blossoming of it, who informed me that it doth shoot forth and bud and blossom near about that time, but not upon the day, but in some space after it, much rather than other thorns usually do. This is all the account I can give you of it. I have no more to add, but mine and my wife's kindest respects to yourself and good wife, and that I am,

Your most respectful friend,

*Wells*, JOHN CHETWIND.

Feb. 25, 1659.

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*Mr. Winney's enclosed Letter concerning the Glaston Thorn*

Worthy Sir,

REAL love and thanks prescribed, &c. These are to acquaint you, that I received a letter from you, wherein Mr. Thomas's request to you is, that the exactest and most punctual account of the usual story of the blossoming of Glastonbury Thorn on Christmas day might be found out. I have upon your request searched more of it than

ever I thought to trouble myself to do, and have conversed with the most ancient that I knew, and was directed to, and think those that are credible, they offer to aver it upon oath what they tell me. Thus one ancient man tells me, that he hath gone on the Eve to it, and he hath found it like another dead thorn, without any blossom, or likelihood to have a sudden forwardness to it, only some evidence of the appearance of the breaking out of the buds, and but an appearance perceivable; and he hath gone on Christmas day, and found the blossoms as though it was the midst of May, and gathered them, and sent them many miles, and had good rewards. This the man will depose upon his oath. At the same time this man was at my house, there came occasionally an ancient woman, a neighbour, whose testimony I believe fit to be received, who earnestly affirmed this, that in the time of Queen Anne she lived with one Sir Tho. Hughes, in Wells, a justice of peace, who purposely sent his men (two of them) to know the truth, that he might satisfy any that might make enquiry; and on the Eve, towards night, they found it as another thorn, only the breaking out of the beginning of buds; and staying in Glastonbury all night, to observe, as near as might be, the time when they began to sprout forth into a perfect blossom, they have gone again toward the turn of the night, and have found the perfect blossom about two or three of the clock, so that at

morning they have returned to their master with them, which she told me she saw when they brought it home. And another man tells me the same story as the first, only with this variation:— His father (and godfather living at Bath) went the Eve's eve, and found nothing but buds, and on Christmas day in the morning found the blossoms, and his father sent them to Bath to his godfather, because he went thither home to keep his Christmas. And a woman at the same time told me, something much like the second, that she hath gone the Eve, late at night, and with a lanthorn and candle with her company, stayed four hours, to see if it might be the manner of the sprouting out of it; and in that space saw that it blossomed, the green boughs the length of half the fore finger to the middle joint. What Mr. Gallop's graft of this old tree doth, I shall leave you to him to be certified. Both our loves to yourself and good wife. Mr. Stuks and his wife desiring one favour in the close, that you would be pleased to take pains to begin our lecture the next Tuesday. I have not had but one assistant, I think, this seven or eight weeks. I shall be absent myself. I intend, if please God, to be at Bristol fair, where I have some business, and pray send me word of it, that I may be assured, I rest,

Yours, in all bonds of love,

*Glatton*, SAM. WINNEY.

Jan. 21, 1659.

I have oft wondered at the commonly believed gift of the kings of England and France to heal the struma. All my doubt hath still been of the matter of fact, whether it be such a real gift of healing or not; for if it be, I will not be so bold as to ask God a reason of it, or why he giveth it to these kings rather than to others. Nor will I dishonour his gift as if it were not his, because I know not his reason; no more than Christ did the miracle done at the pool in Jerusalem, upon the angel's moving the water; or, with Naaman, say "Are not Abanah and Pharphar as good water as Jordan?" I have long enquired of all the physicians, and others that I could, of the reality of the success; whether it be not the gold, the change of air, or the conceit; and I never heard so much as to put me past all doubt. But many credible physicians say, as Mr. Wiseman (a chirurgeon that had much opportunity of knowing) doth in his Book of Chirurgery, "That though all are not cured, yet more are cured by it than by all the physicians in England."

I know the true original of it also, and its occasion, is much in the dark; but I leave this to other men's enquiry: only I say, if the matter of fact prove certain, there can be no great doubt but it proveth the governing agency of invisble, intellectual powers.

If it be miraculous, it seemeth to be entailed on the kingdoms of England and France, rather than

to be any approbation of the religion or piety of the kings; because, if any have this gift, kings of contrary religions have it,* and the worst as well as the best, and usurpers as well as rightful kings. And I hear of no other that pretend to it, but the kings of England and France; and will the king of France take it for his glory, to heal a few persons of a sore, and to kill many thousand innocents by the sword, and burn their cities.

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Mr. EMLIN,† a worthy preacher in Dublin, having told me this by word of mouth, I desired him to send it, sufficiently attested; which he doth as followeth:—

* "I reflected upon the performances of king Pyrrhus, who cured diseases with his finger; so did Vespasian cure two by touching them, as both Tacitus and Suetonius avow; so it has not been doubted that the kings of England and France have generally cured the kings-evil. In Turkey, also, and Africa, they have persons of the like qualifications, which they boast to have received from the favor of their prophet Mahomet. But undoubtedly God hath permitted all religions to have their real miracles, that men may learn to try, miracles by the truth, and not truth by miracles."—*Account Greatarick's Cures, by Dr Stubbe*, 4to. 1666.

† Mr. Emlin was an eminent nonconformist divine, but much persecuted by the high church party, as by some of his Presbyterian brethren, for avowing what are

*Mr. Emlin's Letter, concerning an Apparition at Belfast, in Ireland.*

Reverend Sir,

I have been very uneasy to think that I should so long delay the answer of your desire about the affair related underneath. The distance of the place in which it was transacted, with the slowness of my correspondent in replies, hath made me uncapable of giving you so full and quick satisfaction as might else have been. All that I can relate at present is briefly this, *viz.*

There having been a long contest between Lemuel Matthews, archdeacon of the county of Down, and Claudius Gilbert, minister of Belfast, about their right to Drumbeg, a small parish within four miles of Belfast, it proved very troublesome to the parishioners, who generally paid their dues to Mr. Gilbert, the incumbent in possession; but the archdeacon claimed the same to be paid to him also, for which he procured a warrant; and in the execution of it by his servants, at the house of one Charles Loftin, one of the

called rational, or anti-trinitarian principles; he was however, favored by Dr. Thos. Tennison, then archbishop of Canterbury, and honored with the friendship of Dr. Samuel Clarke. "He was (says the *General Biography*) a man of strong parts, and a clear way of thinking, and abounded in all moral and religious graces."

parishioners, they offered some violence to his wife, who refused entrance to them, who died within a few weeks after the injury received; but she being otherwise an infirm woman, little notice was taken of her death, till some time after, by her strange appearance to one Thomas Donelson (a spectator of the violence done to her.) She affrighted him into a prosecution of Robert Eccleson the criminal. She appeared divers times, but chiefly upon one Lord's-day evening, when she fetched him with a strange force out of his house, into the yard and fields adjacent. Before her last coming (for she did so three times that day) several neighbours were called in, to whom he gave notice that she was again coming, and beckon'd him to come out; upon which they went to shut the door, but he forbad it, saying, that she looked with a terrible aspect upon him, when they offered it. But his friends laid hold on him, and embraced him, that he might not again go out; notwithstanding which (a plain evidence of some invisible power,) he was drawn out of their hands in a surprising manner, and carried abroad into the field and yard as before, she charging him to prosecute justice; which voice as also Donelson's reply, the people heard, though they saw no shape. There are many witnesses of this, yet alive, particularly Sarah the wife of Charles Loftin, son to the deceased woman; and one William Holyday and his wife, &c.

Upon this the said Donelson deposed what he knew of the aforesaid violence, before Mr. Randal Brice, a neighbor-justice, and confirmed all at the assizes of Down, in the year 1685 (as I remember) where the several witnesses were heard and sworn, and their examinations were entered into the records of that assize, to the amazement and satisfaction of all the country, and of the judges, whom I have heard speak of it at that time with much wonder; insomuch that the said Eccleson hardly escaped with his life, but was burnt in the hand.

The said Donelson is yet living in the same place, with the other witnesses.

I could learn many more circumstances, but that you are in haste; and all this I heard spoken of myself, with universal amazement, at the time when transacted, living at Belfast at that time; and I should not have been beholden to any to have believed this relation, that had been there, and at the trial at Down.

With Mr. Bois's respects,

I remain,

A Reverencer of you,

THO. EMLIN.

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Having received from Mr. Gilbert, the reverend minister of the place, a narrative of the strange story near Belfast, I will insert his letter.

*Mr. Gilbert's Letter concerning the Apparition near Belfast, in Ireland.*

Dear Sir,

Your last, of July the 6th, I received; and since that, I have again and again enquired further into the business of the apparition of Magdalen Loflin, which died about Novemb. 1, 1685, of the hurt she had received a month before. And she appeared to Thomas Domelson, a neighbour, four weeks after her death, in the house of William Holiday, near her own house. There were then present in the said house, William Holiday, and Helen his wife; as also Sarah Lofnam, daughter-in-law to the said defunct; and some servants and children in the house, besides Charles Loflin and Helen Loflin, children to the said defunct, which are now all alive; and most of them were summoned to the following assizes at Down Patri k, and there deposed solemnly before the bench the several circumstantials of the said apparition. Which apparition was thrice repeated, in the same evening, to the said Thomas Donelson; and how he was horribly frighted thereby, and violently drawn out of the said house, before their eyes, though they struggled hard to detain him; and that he was carried up and down, over neighboring hedges and ditches; and that her last words to him were, "That she would trouble him no more

if he did faithfully prosecute the cause of her death; which she still ascribed to the blows which she received from the said R. Eccleston and K. Higgison."

The said Thomas Donelson did accordingly repair to his landlord, the next justice, Mr. Randal Brice; who brought their several examinations to Sir William Franklin, in Belfast Castle, where also was present the Earl of Longford; which said depositions were carried to Dublin, and there recommended to the special care of Judge John Lindon, who was to come down the next assizes of Downe. And the said trial and examination of witness were then managed at the said assizes by James Macartny, counsellor, in the behalf of Charles Loflin, the plaintiff, to the admiration of all the bench, and of the compauy there, in my sight and audience. So that the matter was notoriously known and believed through the whole country. Nor was there any cause of suspecting any fraud therein, they being all plain, honest neighbours, well known to me, and my parishioner in the parish of Druonbeg, in the county of Downe, and in the province of Ulster,

I rest,

Your cordially affectionate,

CL. GILBERT.

*Belfast*,
*Aug.* 24, 1691.

*A Dublin Instance, attested by Mr. Daniel Williams,* now in London.*

About the year 1678, I knew a young woman, who was neice to Alderman Arundel, in Dublin.

In her said uncle's house she was pursued with very terrible noises; as by violent stroaks on the wainscots and chests, in what chambers she frequented.

The blows were heard throughout the house, and were so troublesome, as to occasion the removal of the young woman to a house near Smithfield, in Dublin, not without hopes that the disturbance might thereby cease; but the noise pursued her thither, and was no more heard in her former dwelling.

* Mr. Williams was born at Wrexham, in North Wales, but passed the greater part of his life in Ireland. He was twenty years pastor to a congregation in Wood street, Dublin. During the Irish troubles, he came to England, and was here frequently consulted on Irish affairs by King William. On the death of the celebrated Richard Baxter, in 1691, by whom he was greatly esteemed, he succeeded him as one of the preachers of the Pinner's Hall lecture; he had, about the same time, the degree of D. D. conferred on him, by the universities both of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He was a munificent benefactor to numerous learned and charitable societies; but is best known as the founder of the library in Red Cross-street, Cripplegate. Here the doctor's own books were deposited, as well as the curious collection of Dr. Bates, purchased by Dr. Williams for the purpose, at an expense of 500*l*—*Chalmer's Biographical Dictionary.*

Here she continued as long as the owner of that house would bear the resort of people, and terror of those sudden and frequent claps.

From this place she was removed to a little house in Patrick street, near the gate. Here she met with the same exercise, and the noise was, generally about two o'clock in the morning, greater than at other times.

Several nights were spent in prayer with her by ministers, as Mr. Cox, Dr. Roles, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Keys, &c., who all, with many others, assured me they heard the said blows in the room where they prayed, sometimes on a great chest there, sometimes on the wall, &c.

Mr. Chambers and Mr. Keys were employed there the night before I had promised to be with her.

The next night, Mr. Cox having oft heard the said noise, and oft prayed with the woman, was desirous to accompany me. There were many people (as usual) sat up with us; I preached from Hebrews 2, 18, and contrived to be at prayer at the time when the noise used to be greatest.

When I was at prayer, the woman, kneeling by me, catched violently at my arm, and afterwards told us, she saw a terrible sight; but it pleased God, there was no noise at all. And from that time, God graciously freed her from all that disturbance.

I examined this person, and could find nothing in her circumstances fit to induce one to any satisfactory judgment of her case.

These noises lasted about three months, and she was much enfeebled in body, and almost distracted thereby; but soon recovered upon the removal thereof.

Attested by me,
DANIEL WILLIAMS.

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## THE CONCLUSION.

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### *Concerning Angels.*

WHILE I consider these unquestionable evidences of the certainty of Spirits, and how much they have to do with men, I cannot but think that we have also much to do with them: with the bad, to resist them as our enemies, and the enemies of the Gospel, and the church of God, against whom we must

continually watch and pray, lest we fall into their temptations; and with the good, that we may be meet for their preserving and comforting ministry.

But in all our histories it is observable, that bad spirits' apparitions and actions are far more frequent, and more sensible than good ones; which may, perhaps, to some seem strange. Concerning which I consider:—

1. That corporeal crassitude is an abasement, and therefore fittest for the more ignoble sort of spirits: we that dwell here in bodies, are of a lower order than those of the more high and invisible regions.

2. And the bad spirits, as they have a baser consistence, have also a more base and terrene inclination. And therefore it is the less wonder, that they mind matters of money and lands; and no doubt but the souls of wicked men carry with them much of the vicious habits in which they lived here, that is, of covetousness and revenge. And they that tell us, that such as dives retain no love to their brethren on earth, speak more than they can prove, and are not so credible as Christ, that seemeth to say to the contrary. Some make a state of departed souls, good and bad, out of their own inventions, which it is very likely death will confute.

3. And it is far greater things than visible appearances that we constantly receive from angels,

more suitable to their nature and dignity, and to our good. Some men have long laboured to attain a visible or sensible communion with them, and think they have attained it; but while they presumptuously desire to pervert the order of God's household and government, it is no wonder if instead of angels, they converse with devils that are transformed into seeming angels of light, that, by delusion, they may transform such men into ministers of unrighteousness.

It is a doleful instance of the effect of a perverse kind of opposition to Popery, and running from one extreme to another, to note how little sense most Protestants shew of the great benefits that we receive by angels. How seldom we hear them in public or private, give thanks to God for their ministry and helps? and more seldom pray for it? When hear we any ministers teach believers what love and what thanks they owe to angels? whereas the excellency and holiness of their natures obligeth us to love them, and their love and care of us bespeaketh thankfulness; yea, we have teachers that would persuade men that this savoureth of Popery, and doth derogate from Christ; and yet if the people love, and honour, and maintain them, they take this to be no derogation from Christ: as if *they* were more amiable than angels, or Christ may not use the ministry of angels as well as theirs'. The Lord pity the distracted, divided societies of Christians, who, in all

countries, are fallen into uncharitable sects, that, on pretence of saving the truth, and the church from the errors of each other, do corrupt both by the addition of contrary errors; so that it is hard to find out many errors of Popery, or ancient heresy, which hath not been avoided by contrary faults, in the corruption of doctrine, charity, or concord.

Devils have a greater game to play, invisibly, than by apparitions. O happy world! if they did not do a hundred thousand times more hurt by the baits of pleasure, lust, and honour, and by pride, and love of money, and sensuality, than they do by witches! O! that they did not more dangerously haunt the houses and souls of lords, knights, gentlemen, and lustful youths! Who can conjure them out of universities and pulpits, out of a malignant, sclanderous clergy, and laity, out of worldly, self-seeking, carnal men?

If the devil can get people (perhaps lords and ladies) to spend the day (their precious hours) in cards and dice, and feastings, and stage plays, and masks, and musick, and perhaps filthy lust, he will let you pray at night, and cry to God for his mercy, and perhaps tell him that you repent, that you may sin on the more boldly the next day. And it is like he will provide you a ghostly father, as bad as yourselves, that shall give you the sacrament as a sealed pardon, and pronounce you absolved, and that as in the name of Christ.

All these effects of devils the world abounds with, but the effect of angels are observed but by very few. Because even as the Sadducees think that all these vices and confusions are only the effects of men's own pravity, and not of devils, not knowing that all such births have a father and a mother (the devil and men's own hearts,) so most good people look so much to God and to ministers in all that is done on them, that they take little notice of angels, that are God's greater ministers, as if they had little to do with us.

By this, 1. We give not to God the due honor of the order of his works. 2. We are guilty of unrighteousness, in denying their due love and gratitude to such noble agents. 3. We lose the comfortable remembrance of our own communion with them. 4. We lose some helps to a heavenly mind and conversation, when, as it would make the thoughts of heaven more familiar and pleasant to us, to think of such a holy and amiable society, and would make us the willinger to die.

As to them that say, that it is enough to know that Christ is all to us, and we must take heed of ascribing anything to creatures, I answer, is Christ the less all to us, for giving us his mercies? for giving us the ministry of angels? Is he the less all to us, for giving gifts to men, for giving comforters and merciful relievers to the poor? for giving to children the love and care of parents? or, for giving men good princes and magistrates to

rule them? or, for giving them soldiers to fight for them? or, for giving you ministers to teach you? who more praiseth their teachers, than such objectors? Will you be unthankful to your benefactors, for fear of ascribing to creatures? Will you not praise a godly man above a wicked? Will you not praise and admire the glory of the sun and stars, and the frame of heaven and earth, for fear of ascribing to creatures? Is the praising of a work a wrong to the workman?

Indeed this agreeth with their doctrine, who, because Paul counted all his Mosaical legal righteousness as loss or dung, in comparison of the righteousness that God gave him in and by Christ, do therefore say, that we must count all that righteousness as dung, which Christ himself worketh in us by his Spirit, even faith itself, which is imputed, or reckoned to us for righteousness. This enticeth men to be out of love with Christian righteousness, when Christ hath made it our own, if it be no better than dung; and to fear that some such men have no better. But they say, they account faith, and love to Christ, to be dung only as to justification; as if God did not make all men just, whom he justifieth by esteem and sentence; or, as if that were righteousness, that doth in no part or degree make a man righteous; or, as if any but Christians, as such, are justified; or any man were a Christian before he accepteth Christ by a loving and thankful consent or trust, as his

Saviour and his teacher, and his Lord and ruler. But this is a digression, which men's talk against ascribing to angels led me to.

We are not for ascribing to angels (nor to faith, and love, and holiness) the least part of the honor proper to God, or to Jesus Christ. They do none of the work of our Redeemer for us (nor can we do the least of it for ourselves,) unless as the work of his instruments and agents, may be called Christ's work; they save us, indeed, but it is but as Timothy was taught by Paul, how to save himself, and those that heard him; and we are bid to *save ourselves*. Christ teacheth us, and ministers teach us. Christ feedeth us, and we feed ourselves, yea, he saith that we feed him: and that he will, for so doing, say "Come, ye blessed, inherit the kingdom." Angels and men do Christ's commanded work; but no creature doth the least part of Christ's own proper undertaken work.

*Objection.* But these high thoughts of angels have drawn the Papists to idolatry, in praying to them, and worshipping them.

*Answer.* It is your denying them the honor that is due to them, which is a temptation that hardeneth Papists in their excess.

Must we not love and honor kings, ministers, and saints, though some herein run into extremes. We have many reasons against praying to angels, or offering them visible corporeal worship; because we know not just when they are present, and be-

cause it may countenance the heathens demon worship and idolatry, and because God hath appointed us no such sort of worship. But God having so largely told us of their love to us, and their constant eminent service for us, he thereby obligeth us to answerable regard, affections, and acknowledgement.

I have said so much, in a small discourse in Mr. Isaac Ambrose, his book of COMMUNION WITH ANGELS (at his request, who is now with angels) that I will not here recite very many particular texts of scripture about this subject: but if you will but look in your Concordance, you shall see what abundant mention of angels there is throughout all the scripture, while we hear so little of them in our books and pulpits. It's true, that in the Old Testament time they oftener visibly appeared than they do now; but that is no derogation to our Gospel state: as it is more spiritual than theirs, that needed more visible means, so our spiritual benefits, by them before-named, are greater than theirs were.

1. How familiar were angels with Abraham, who entertained them as men, till they made themselves better known to him; they were the messengers of the great promise to him of the numerous and the holy seed. They reproved Sarah for her unbelief, that they might comfort her by the promised seed.

How familiar were they with Lot, when they

came into his house, and took him in, and blinded his enemies, and told him their message concerning Sodom, and when they carried him, while he delayed to depart? And when they saved Zoar for his sake?

How familiar were they with Jacob, in his travels, and his return; when he saw them, as by a ladder, ascending and decending; and when one of them wrestled with him, and blessed him, though he made him halt?

I know that many excellent divines do say, that one of these, called angels, was Christ. To which I say,

1. If it were so, that doth not deny, but confirm what I am pleading for. If Christ appearing, made angels his companion, the more for their honour.

2. But if this be true, either Christ had a body, yea, many bodies, before his incarnation by Mary, or not. If not, what were all these similitudes of men, that did eat, and drink, and act? Were they mere shadows and delusions? How, then could they speak and act so potently? If yea, then was the pure Godhead hypostatically united to these many appearing bodies, or not? Who can prove a difference, save as to the matter and duration, between his union with these, and with his last assumed flesh. And yet the scripture appropriateth Christ's incarnation, and coming in the body, to the fulness of time, and to those last

days. I am loth to say, without proof, that Christ had *many bodies*, lest any should infer that there have been many Christs; but if this must be held, it will introduce Peter Sterry's doctrine as most probable, that Christ, as the eternal word essentially, God first caused the noblest created nature, above angels (or, as Dr. More calleth it, an eternal flesh; or, as he and John Turner, a prime created life in the prime matter,) and did unite itself to this super-angelical nature, and by it cause all the rest: and that this second nature appeared to the fathers by such temporary assumed bodies, and at last assumed the body of a man, being, some say, itself a soul to it, but as others assuming both a human soul and body: and so, that Christ hath three natures, a divine, a super-angelical and a human. But of this oft elsewhere. This opinion is reconciling us to the Arians, who have affirmed Christ to be a creature above angels. And if God made such a creature methinks it should be easy to persuade them, that he is as the *centre*, and *more than a soul*, maketh all the world *one* (though of unlike parts) doth primarily unite himself with the first and noblest of his productions.

*Objection.*—But scripture saith, that Abraham called one of these *Lord.*

*Answer.*—That name, both Adonia and Elohim, are oft given to creatures. And if the name of Jehovah be sometimes used as to angels, it is only

meant to God, speaking by them, whom Abraham knew to be present, though invisible, and to know all that was said.

Yet further, it was an angel that appeared to Moses in the burning bush, and so that sent him on his work to deliver the Israelites from Egypt, and fortified him with power of miracles, and made him his great promises of success; and yet no doubt it was God; and the text is true that affirmeth both: therefore it must be God speaking and acting by the ministry of an angel, commissioned to use his name.

It was angels that gave Moses the law in the Mount Sinai, for so saith the Scripture; but it was God by them, who were his voice and finger, that made and wrote the tables, and spake all the words. These were all great and wonderful ministrations.

God promised Moses that his angels should go before the Israelites to conquer their enemies, and bring them into the promised land; and he chargeth them not to provoke him, for God's name was upon him, and he would not forgive their iniquities. What greater things could be said, than that an angel shall bear God's name, and be their captain, and conquer their enemies, and be their governor, and not forgive their wilful sins.

In Joshua's war at Jericho, an angel appeareth, and professeth himself "the captain of the Lord's Hosts," Josh. v. 14, 15; and Joshua fell on his

face to the earth, and worshipped him, and prayed to him to tell him his message. If angels be not the generals or captains of our armies, we are unlike to conquer.

It was by an angel that God brought the Israelites out of Egypt, Numb. xx. 16; it was an angel that chose a wife for Isaac, Gen. xxiv. 7, 49; the angel of God's presence saved the Israelites, Isa. lxiii. 9; an angel delivered the three men, Dan. iii., from the fire, and Daniel from the lions, Dan. vi.; angels preached Christ to the shepherds; an angel made the pool in Jerusalem healing, Jo. v. 4; an angel preacheth to Cornelius; an angel delivereth Peter, Acts xii.; the angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them, Psalm xxxiv. 7, God giveth his angels charge over us, to keep us in all our ways; they bear us up in their hands est we dash our foot against a stone, Psalm xci. 11, 12. Rev. i. tells us, that God first revealed his will to Christ, and Christ to angels and angels to John, and John to the churches, and the churches to posterity: yea, angels ministered to Christ himself when he was hungry, Mal. iv. 11; and appeared in his agony,. strengthening him, Luke xxii. 42; legions of angels are at his service; and all the holy angels will come with him at judgement; and they will be the reapers at the end of the world.

Above two hundred and sixty times are angels mentioned in Scripture, and yet how little notice do we take of their help?

But is it only our bodies that they help? Can they reach or help our souls?

*Answer.*—If devils can touch our souls with their temptations, are angels farther from us, or less able to move us to our duty?

But are they ordinarily present, or know our case?

*Answ.*—They rejoice in our conversion, and therefore know it; they are present in our assemblies, as St. Paul intimateth, 1 Cor. xi. 10. Say not before the angel that it was an error, Eccl. v. 6. which intimateth the angel's presence. Every believer hath his angel beholding the face of our Father in heaven. Matt. xiii. 10, and they are not strangers to their charge. We feel that the devil is present with us, by his temptations continually, in all our duties molesting or hindering us; and are angels less intent upon their work? It is Michael and his angels that fight against the Dragon and his angels, to save the church.

While such texts make the Papists think that angels are always or ordinarily present, if they give them not divine worship, but such as we would do a prince, though I have said before why I approve not of their doings, I dare not, as some late expositors of the Revelation, judge the catho-

lic church to have become antichristian idolaters as soon as they gave too much worship to angels and to saints. We are come to the New Jerusalem, to the innumerable angels, Heb. 12, and must honor them that fear the Lord, Psalm xv.; and we know that we are translated from death to life, because we love the brethren. And is it so damnable idolatry to love and honour angels and saints a little too much, while they give them nothing proper to God? I blame their irregularities, but I dare not judge so hardly of them, and the ancient church, for this, as some do; nor think them much better that love and honor angels and saints as much too little.

Some now would call a man an idolater that should say as Jacob, Gen. xlviii. 16—"The angel which redeemed me from all evil bless the lads." They say, This angel was Christ.

*Answ.*—Scripture saith it was an angel. Hos. xii. 4, saith—"He had power over the angel." I dare not call God an angel, though angels may be called gods, as princes be. If Christ had then no nature but the divine, I should suspect it is Arianism to call him an angel, or messenger of God. If he had a body, then was it Ubiquitary; or had he infinite numbers of bodies?—or could he be but with one in the world at once?

For my part, I have had many deliverances so marvellous, as convinceth me of the ministry of angels in them (not here to be recited.) But I

am satisfied, that there is no less of the presence and efficacy of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, when he useth and honoureth any instruments, angels or men, than if he used no means at all. As I will not desire so to alter the stated government and order of God as to expect here visible communion with angels, nor will offer them any unrequired worship, so I would not unthankfully forget how much we receive by them from Christ, and how much we are beholden to them, and to God and our Redeemer, for them. And I hope they will shortly be a convoy to the soul of this poor Lazarus to Abraham's bosom, or to the Paradise where I hope to be with Christ.—Amen.

One thing more I think meet to mind the reader of, that he may not lose the benefit of these histories—that is, How to discern a good spirit from a bad. The Scripture telling us that three things are the characters of devils—"lying, malignity, and hurtfulness." Job. viii., which include all uncharitableness, revenge, and division, we may certainly gather, that it is a diabolical spirit that promoteth these, whatever the pretences are.

I. The antichristian error, called Antinomian, that would set Christ against Christ, and make men believe that his death had made all our obedience to his government a thing that shall never do us any good (being called works,) and all our

sins against his grace to be so harmless, that we ought not to think that we shall be ever the worse for them; and that the elect, that live in perjury and murder, and adultery, or any other sin, are not perjured, murderers, adulterers, because now they are Christ's sins, and not theirs (with many such reproaches of Christ, called by the Crispians "the exalting of him.") These certainly are from devils, and God doth notably disown them, as the fore-mentioned instances of the Ranters, and those in New England mentioned by Mr. Weld, do shew. And the doleful form of Mr. Davies's congregation, about Rowel in Northamptonshire, of the madness, blasphemies, barkings, and beastility there, I leave to the enquiry of sober persons; though I am no witness of it, the reports are such as are not meet to be silenced.

Mr. Samuel Crispe hath published this week a book, as against me, in defence of his father, telling the world that he understands not what he writeth of, and ignorantly defending what I affirm, and confuting his father, thinking it a defence of him.

I deny not but a Crispian may be a Christian, while, through ignorance, he believeth not his own words. But he that will but read the Scripture, and particularly the texts cited by me in my "Confession of Faith," shall see how fully Christ hath confuted Crispe, and vindicated his mediatorial office.

II. And all those principles, passions, and practices, that are against the love and concord of Christians, whatever pretence of an angel of light or other ministers of righteousness, may be their cloak, are undoubtedly from the dividing devil.

III. And more evident is it, that it is no better spirit that inspireth all the slanderers, silencers, and persecutors of the faithful ministers of Christ and those that make and execute the laws for the imprisionng and ruining of the most conscionable Christians for their avoiding notorious sin, or, at least, for doubtful infirmities incomparably less than these persecutors (clergy or laity) are guilty of. By their fruits you may know what spirit actuateth these men. Wolves, thorns, and thistles, are known by hurtfulness. Christ's miracles were —doing good, and healing; but devil's work is hurting and destroying.

And let those men and women think of it that cannot forgive, but are set upon revenge. Mark whether revenge be not the most ordinary business of witches, and of devilized souls, most of these histories tell it you. Therefore Christ telleth us, that if we forgive not, we shall not be forgiven, so contrary is he to the diabolical spirit of revenge, though yet he hath just and punishing governors.

Were but the histories of witches and apparitions well considered, it would help men to understand, that devils make no small number of the laws and rulers that are in this world, and have no

small number of honoured servants, and are the authors of most of the wars in the world. So that the phrase, Rev. iii—"The devil shall cast some of you into prison," should not seem strange. And I would I had no cause to say, that this mark of lying, malignity and hurtfulness, tells us, that many sermons are made by devils, and too many of the books written by them that adorn the libraries of many learned men.

And though demons do good in order to do hurt, yet, by this rule of judging of spirits by their fruits, I cannot but think that (though there was a mixture of good and bad) there was more of the good spirit than of the bad in most of the ancient monks and hermites, that lived so strict and mortified lives. And as I find, not only by Erasmus, but by the complaint of Protestant divines, that it was a desire of liberty from the Papists' austerities that prevailed with most of the vulgar to cast off popery, so the case of many monasteries; their mortification and devotion (though ignorant) doth make me hope that in many such monasteries there is more of the Spirit of God than among the common, worldly, sensual sort of Protestants. I that must say so of our well-meaning Separatists here, must say so of such Papists; for I find by the multitude of instances in Cæsarius, and others that just as deep repentance for former sin doth now bring many to think it safest to join with the congregations which they think are most strict,

so before Luther's time it was ordinary, when God humbled any deeply for their sin, to think that they must presently join with such as renounced the world and fleshly pleasures, and minded nothing but religion and salvation. And thence it came to pass, that among the Papists the Monasticks were called religious, in distinction from secular, and other sorts of men. And as our separating religious Protestants do now demand, of such as they admit to their communion, an account of some special experiences of God's work on their hearts in their conversion, so did the monasteries by such as they received. The aforesaid author, Cæsarius, will tell you of multitudes of instances how God converted sinners, and brought them into their religious houses.

What can one think of all this, but that, as all that we here do is imperfect and faulty, and yet pardoned through Christ, to the sincere, so among Papists, and honest sectaries, there is much that is of God, and shall be accepted, though Satan, by their ignorance and his subtility, do obscure and maculate the lustre of it, and turn it into scandal, for much is his warfare against Christ and his kingdom in this world.

God is good, and doth good; and will have mercy, and not sacrifice; and his justice doth hurt, for a greater good.

The devil is a *do-evil;* and if he do good, it is to greater hurt.

And Oh that I could get my own and all reader's hearts sufficiently affected with this observation!—that as all our life is carried on in a warfare, and Satan's malice is both against Christ and us, so his great work is to draw us into some sins which shall cloud the glory both of the grace and the miracles of Christ, and damp the comfort which we might have received by all his mercies.

If he see an honest Christian zealously affected draw him by temptation of the flesh into some scandal, or by ignorance into some false opinions, and that glory of all his zeal is presently turned into reproach. If he do but fall out with some of his neighbours, and by passion, or for worldly interest, offend them, all his piety goeth not only for hypocrisy, but for a reproach to piety itself. Yea, if they fall but into melancholy, and impatience, and discontent, the devil sets them to affright men from religion, as we set up mawkins in our corn and orchards to affright the birds.

Oh! how amiable would a holy and heavenly life appear, were it not conspurcated with the mixture of its contraries? How beautiful would the wisdom of a saint appear, were it not dishonored by the mixture of ignorance and error? How joyfully and thankfully could I review all the wonders of mercy that have filled up my life to this present hour, had I not mixed those many transgressions that must not be remembered without grief and shame, though through Christ they

be forgiven? Though I can say that pride, ambition, and covetousness, and worldly preferments have not been strong enough to cloud my comforts, yet, alas! what a multitude of faults, by carelessness, incogitancy, rashness, passion, and want of due watchfulness and tenderness of conscience, have done it! Oh! with what joyful praise to God could I peruse all the history of my pilgrimage, did not this woeful mixture of my sins damp and allay my comforts, and, by indignation against myself, abate my peace! I believe forgiveness and safety from hell: but if (besides my near sixty years castigatory pains) I did suspect, with Augustine, that there were a purgatory hereafter, I should fear it; not out of any doubt of the sufficiency of Christ's satisfaction, righteousness, and merits to their proper ends, but because I believe that he is my governor, though by a law of grace and faith; and that he is a judge, and that he is not indifferent whether we obey him or disobey him. If I believe not Christ, I am no Christian; and if I believe Christ's constant doctrine, particularly Matt. v. and vi. and vii. and xxv., I can no easier be made a CRISPIAN, than I can believe the grossest contradiction. And I now think this distinguishing name as useful as was the name of Nicolaitans.—Rev. ii. and iii.

One thing more I desire to be observed about the warfare between Christ and devils—that both

sides make great use of human instruments, especially of princes, and pastors or teachers, and parents. These are the three great organs (under angels) appointed by God for the moral free agency in promoting the kingdom of Christ on earth. And where these three are faithful, O! how great a blessing are they? Therefore it is the grand design of devils to corrupt these three, and to make them traitors to Christ, that is their rightful Lord, and enemies to his work, and him whom they should represent. No deadlier enemies to children than ungodly parents. No deadlier enemies to the worshippers of Christ than malignant, proud, ignorant, worldly, clergymen. No such powerful enemies to kingdoms as ungodly, ignorant kings and magistrates. O: how much good, or mischief, may *one* king, or supreme power, do, by the great advantage that God, the institutor of government, hath given them? Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, are doleful monuments of the success of devils, by making princes, priests, and parents, their instruments, corrupting them by ignorance, and by worldly fleshly baits! Mr. Cotton Mather, in the Life of Mr. Eliot, the New England Evangelist, reciteth this account of his (p. 93,) why the Lyn Indians were all nought, save one, because their sachim (or king) was nought; for they and the *powwowes* (or wizards) like priests, did with malice, threatning, and persecution, drive the people from receiving the gos-

pel, and praying to God. What a dangerous case through mutual hostility, and cruel persecution, hath sometimes one law, political or ecclesiatical, brought a nation into, by locking the church doors against unity, concord, and mutual love, and by stoning the dissenters from such dividing snares? —And what a blessing hath one good prince, yea, one reforming or healing law or proclamation, been to a land?

What a blessing to the church were such bishops as Ignatius, Cyprian, Basil, the three or four Gregories, Chrysostom, Proclus, Atticus, Augustine, and such as they. And what scandals and tearers were the contrary minded: who by their ignorance and pride, on pretence of uniting, cut the church and empire into the shreds that yet continue, and were a grief to Constantine, and more to Theodosius: 2. to Anastasius, and to many a worthy emperor? And when they grew stronger, deposed their true rulers the eastern emperors, and such as Ludovicus Pius, and kept up bloody wars against emperors in the west, till they deprived most kings of half their government.

The God that fixeth the course of nature, so as that he will not, for the prayers of any, make the sun alter a minute of its rising and setting time, nor alter the spring and fall, summer and winter, &c., hath settled also a subordinate order of free agents for moral government; and though he dispose of the events of all men's acts, yet will he

not usually violate that free order. It is marvellous the devils have so much power over children and men, as I have here proved, if but a silly, wretched witch consent; and how much more mischief may he do to church and kingdom, if he can but get bishops, priests, and princes, and lawmakers, to consent.

Therefore, above all other resistance of devils, oh! pray hard for wise and godly kings and magistrates, and for wise, humble, and faithful teachers, and next for family piety. And if ever the kingdoms, churches, and people, be reduced to wisdom, unity, and sobriety, this must be the means, according to God's established way.

# APPENDIX.

THE following are some of the passages referred to in the foregoing discourse, taken from the author's celebrated work, "THE SAINTS' EVERLASTING REST."—

"The learned, godly Zanchius saith, he wonders that any should deny that there are such spirits as hags or fairies. I could, saith he, bring many examples of persons, yet alive, that have had experience of them, but it is not necessary to name them. Hence it appears, that there are such spirits in the air; and that, when God permits, they exercise their power in our bodies, either to sport or to hurt. Of this, saith he, besides the certainty of God's word, we have also men's daily experience. These devils, therefore, do serve to confirm our faith of God, of good angels, and many things more that the Scripture delivereth. Many

deny that the soul of man liveth after death, because they see nothing go from the body but his breath.—But we see not the devils; and yet it is clearer than the sun, that the air is full of them; because, besides God's word, experience itself doth teach it:—thus Zanchy pleads undeniable experience (lib. vi. cap. 20.) Yea, godly, sober Melancthon affirms, that he had seen some such sights or apparitions himself; and that many credible persons of his acquaintance have told him, that they have not only seen them, but had much talk with spirits: among the rest, he mentions his own aunt, who sitting sad at the fire, after the death of her husband, there appeared unto her *one in his likeness*, and another like a Franciscan friar; the former told her that he was her husband—that she must hire some priests to say certain masses for him; then he took her by the hand, promising to do her no harm, but *his hand so burned her's, that it remained black ever after*, and so they vanished away.—Thus writes the judicious, credible Melancthon. Luther affirmed of himself, that at Coburge he oft times had an apparition of *burning torches*, the sight whereof did so affright him, that he was near swooning. Also in his own garden the devil appeared to him in the likeness of a black boar, but then he made light of it.—(See the "Saints' Rest," part 2, page 271, edit. 1651.) Luther's prayers were so miraculously powerful and prevailing, that Justus Jonas writes of him, "*Iste*

*vir potuit quod voluit*"—"that man could do what he list." When Myconius, a godly divine, lay sick of that *consumption* which is called *phthisis*, Luther prayeth earnestly that he might recover, and not die before himself; and so confident was he of the grant of his desire, that he writes boldly to Myconius that he should not die now, but should remain yet longer upon the earth. Upon these prayers did Myconius presently revive as from death, and lived six years after, till Luther was dead: and himself hath largely written the story, and professed that when he read Luther's letter he seemed to hear that voice of Christ—"Lazarus, come forth!" What was it less than a miracle in Baynam, the martyr, who told the Papists, "Lo here is a miracle!—I feel no more pain in this fire than in a bed of down—it is as sweet to me as a bed of roses." So Bishop Ferrar, who could say, before he went to the fire, "If I stir in the fire, believe not my doctrine;" and accordingly remained unmoved. Perhaps you will say—if these examples were common, I would believe?" But if *wonders were common*, we should live by *sense*, and not by *faith*. Austin saith: "God letteth not every saint partake of miracles, lest the weak should be deceived, with this pernicious error, to prefer miracles as better than the works of righteousness, whereby eternal life is attained."—*Ibid.* p. 264, 5, 6.

THE END.

# DR. COTTON MATHER'S

# WONDERS

# OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD.

(Not Cotton Mather's Wonders — see note on Pleg-leaf. It is from his Magnalia. J.)

*Attestations to the Truth and Usefulness of Dr. Mather's History.*

SUCH a work at this hath been much desired, and long expected, both at home and abroad, and too long delayed by us; and sometimes it hath seemed a hopeless thing ever to be obtained, till God raised up the spirit of this learned and pious person, one of the sons of the college, and one of the ministers of the third generation, to undertake this work. His learning, and godliness, and ministerial abilities, were so conspicuous, that at the age of seventeen years he was called to be a public preacher in Boston, the metropolis of the whole English America: and within a while after that, he was

ordained pastor of the same church, whereof his own father was the teacher, and this at the unanimous desire of the people, and with the approbation of the magistrates, ministers, and churches in the vicinity of Boston. And after he had, for divers years, approved himself in an exemplary way, and obliged his native country by publishing many useful treatises, suitable to the present state of religion amongst us, he set himself to write the Church-History of New England, not at all omitting his ministerial employments; and in the midst of many difficulties, tears, and temptations having made a diligent search, collecting of proper materials, and selecting the choicest memorials, he hath, in the issue, within a few months, contrived, composed, and methodized the same into this form and frame which we here see.

As for myself, having been, by the mercy of God, now above sixty-eight years in New England, and served the Lord and his people, in my weak measure, sixty-years in the ministry of the Gospel, I may now say, in my old age, I have seen all that the Lord hath done for his people in New England, and have known the beginning and progress of these churches unto this day; and having read over much of this history I cannot but in the love and fear of God bear witness to the truth of it; viz. That this present Church History of New-England, compiled by Mr. Cotton Mather, for the substance, end, and scope

of it, is, as far as I have been acquainted therewithal, according to truth.

JOHN HIGGINSON.

*Salem, the 25th of the First Month*, 1697.

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The author of the following narrative is a person of such well known integrity, prudence, and veracity, that there is not any cause to question the truth of what he here relates. And moreover, this writing of his is adorned with a very grateful variety of learning, and doth contain such surprizing works of Providence, as do well deserve due notice and observation. On all which accounts, it is with just confidence recommended to the public by

NATH. MATHER,
*April*, 27, 1697. JOHN HOWE,
MATTH. MEAD.

# INTRODUCTION.

READER, prepare to be entertained with as prodigious matters as can be put into any history! And let him that writes the next *Thaumatographia Pneumatica*, allow to these prodigies the chief place among the wonders.

About the time of our blessed Lord's coming to reside on earth, we read of so many possessed with devils, that it is commonly thought the number of such miserable energumens was then increased above what has been usual in other ages; and the reason of that increase has been made a matter of some enquiry. Now, though the devils might herein design by preternatural operations to blast the miracles of our Lord Jesus Christ, which point they gained among the blasphemous Pharisees; and the devils might herein also design a villanous imitation of what was coming to pass in the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein God came to dwell in flesh; yet I am not without suspicion, that there may be something further in the conjecture of the learned Bartholinus hereupon, who says, it was *Quod judæi præter modum, artibus magicis dediti dæmonem advocaverint*, the

Jews, by the frequent use of magical tricks, called in the devils among them.

It is very certain there were hardly any people in the world grown more fond of sorceries than that unhappy people. The *Talmuds* tell us of the little parchments, with words upon them, which were their common amulets, and of the charms which they muttered over wounds, and of the various enchantments which they used against all sorts of disasters whatsoever. It is affirmed, in the *Talmuds*, that no less than twenty-four scholars in one school were killed by witchcraft; and that no less than fourscore persons were hanged for witchcraft by one judge in one day. The gloss adds upon it, that the women of Israel had generally fallen to the practice of witchcrafts; and therefore it was required that there should be still chosen into the council one skillful in the arts of sorcerers, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those black arts among such as were accused before them.

Now the arrival of Sir William Phips to the government of New England was at a time when a governor would have had occasion for all the skill in sorcery that was ever necessary to a Jewish counsellor: a time when scores of poor people had newly fallen under a prodigious possession of devils, which it was then generally thought had been by witchcrafts introduced. It is to be confessed and bewailed, that many inhabitants of

New England, and young people especially, had been led away with little sorceries, wherein they did secretly those things that were not right against the Lord their God; they would often cure hurts with spells, and practise detestable conjurations with sieves, and keys, and pease, and nails, and horse-shoes, and other implements, to learn the things for which they had a forbidden and impious curiosity. Wretched books had stolen into the land, wherein fools were instructed how to become able fortune tellers; among which, I wonder that a blacker brand is not set upon that fortune-telling-wheel, which that sham scribbler, that goes under the letters of R. B., has promised in his "Delights for the Ingenious," as an *honest and pleasant recreation;* and by these books the minds of many have been so poisoned, that they studied this finer witchcraft, until, it is well, if some were not betrayed into what is grosser, and more sensible and capital. Although these diabolical divinations are more ordinarily committed, perhaps, all over the whole world, than they are in the country of New England, yet, that being a country devoted unto the worship and service of the Lord Jesus Christ above the *rest of the world*, he signalized his vengeance against these wickednesses, with such extraordinary dispensations as have not been often seen in other places.

The devils which had been so played withal, and it may be, by some few criminals more ex-

plicitly engaged and employed, now broke in upon the country, after as astonishing a manner as was ever heard of. Some scores of people, first about Salem, the centre and first-born of all the towns in the colony and afterwards in several other places, were arrested with many preternatural vexations upon their bodies, and a variety of cruel torments, which were evidently inflicted from the dæmons of the *invisible world*. The people that were infected and infested with such dæmons in a few days time arrived unto such a refining alteration upon their eyes, that they could see their tormentors; they say a little devil, of a little stature, and of a tawny colour, attended still with spectres that appeared in more human circumstances.

These tormentors tendered unto the afflicted a book, requiring them to sign it, or to touch it at least, in token of their consenting to be listed in the service of the devil; which they refusing to do, the spectres, under the command of that *black-man*, as they called him, would apply themselves to torture them with prodigious molestations.

The afflicted wretches were horribly distorted and convulsed, they were pinched black and blue, pins would be run everywhere in their flesh, they would be scalded until they had blisters raised on them, and a thousand other things, before hundreds of witnesses, were done unto them, evidently preternatural: for if it were preternatural to keep a rigid fast for nine, yea, for fifteen days together,

or if it were preternatural to have one's hands tied close together with a rope to be plainly seen, and then by unseen hands presently pulled up a great way from the earth, before a crowd of people, such preternatural things were endured by them.

But of all the preternatural things which befel these people, there were none more unaccountable than those, wherein the prestigious dæmons would every now and then cover the most corporeal things in the world with a fascinating mist of invisibility. As now—a person was cruelly assaulted by a spectre, that as she said, run at her with a spindle, though nobody else in the room could see either the spectre or the spindle; at last in her agonies, giving a snatch at the spectre, she pulled the spindle away, and it was no sooner got into her hand but the other folks then present beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, iron spindle, which when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the dæmons taken away to do farther mischief.

Again, a person was haunted by a most abusive spectre, which came to her, she said, with a sheet about her, though seen to none but herself. After she had undergone a deal of teaze from the annoyance of the spectre she gave a violent snatch at the sheet that was upon it, where-from she tore a corner, which immediately was beheld by all that were present, a palpable corner of a sheet; and her father, which was now holding of her, catched, that he might keep what his daughter had so strangely

seized, but the spectre had like to have wrung his hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him; however, he still held it; and several times this odd accident was renewed in the family. There wanted not the oaths of good credible people to these particulars.

Also, it is well known, that these wicked spectres did proceed so far as to steal several quantities of money from divers people, part of which individual money was dropt sometimes out of the air, before sufficient spectators, into the hands of the afflicted, while the spectres were urging them to subscribe their covenant with Death. Moreover, poisons, to the standers-by wholly invisible, were sometimes forced upon the afflicted, which when they have, with much reluctancy, swallowed, they have swoln presently, so that the common medicines for poisons have been found necessary to relieve them; yea, sometimes the spectres, in the struggles, have so dropt the poisons, that the standers by have smelt them, and viewed them, and beheld the pillows of the miserable stained with them.

Yet more, the miserable have complained bitterly of burning rags run into their forcibly distended mouths; and though nobody could see any such clothes, or indeed any fires in the chambers, yet presently the scalds were seen plainly by every body on the mouths of the complainers; and not only the smell, but the smoke of the burning sensibily filled the chambers.

Once more, the miserable exclaimed extremely of branding irons heating at the fire on the hearth to mark them; now though the standers-by could see no irons, yet they could see distinctly the print of them in the ashes, and smell them too, as they were carried by the unseen furies unto the poor creatures for whom they were intended; and those poor creatures were thereupon so stigmatized with them, that they will bear the marks of them to their dying day. Nor are these the tenth part of the prodigies that fell out among the inhabitants of New England.

Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people, in a country where they have as much mother-wit, certainly, as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadducism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing that will not be justified, if required, by the oaths of more considerate persons than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena.

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## PREMONITIONS OF DEATH, APPARITIONS, &c.

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STRANGE premonitions of death approaching, are

matters of such a frequent occurrence in history, that one is ready now to look upon them as no more than matters of common occurrence. The learned know that Suetonius hardly lets one of his twelve Cæsars die without them; and the vulgar talk of them as things happening every day amongst their smaller neighbours.

Even within a fortnight of my writing this, there was a physician who sojourned with a furlong of my own house; this physician, for three nights together, was miserably distrest with dreams of his being drowned. On the third of these nights his dreams were so troublesome, that he was cast into extreme sweats, by struggling under the imaginary water. With the sweats yet upon him he came down from his chamber, telling the people of the family what it was that so discomposed him. Immediately there came in two friends, that asked him to go a little way with them in a boat upon the water; he was at first afraid of gratifying the desire of his friends because, of his late presages; but it being a very calm time, he recollected himself, "Why should I mind my dreams or mistrust the Divine Providence?" He went with them, and before night, by a thunder-storm suddenly coming up, they were all three of them drowned.

I have just now enquired into the truth of what I have thus related; and I can assert it.

But apparitions after death are things which,

when they occur, have more strangeness in them. And yet they have been often seen in this land: particularly persons that have died abroad at sea, have, within a day after their death, been seen by their friends in their houses at home. The sights have occasioned much notice and much discourse at the very time of them, and records have been kept of the time (reader, I write but what hath fallen within my own personal observation,) and it hath been afterwards found that they died near that very time when they thus appeared.

I will, from several instances which I have known of this thing, single out one, that shall have in it much of demonstration, as well as of particularity.

It was on the second of May, in the year 1687, that a most ingenious, accomplished, and well disposed young gentleman, Mr. Joseph Beacon by name,about five o'clock in the morning, as he lay whether sleeping or waking he could not say (but judged the latter of them,) had a view of his brother, then at London, although he was now himself at our Boston distanced from him a thousand leagues. This, his brother, appeared to him in the morning (I say,) about five o'clock, at Boston, having on him a Bengal gown, which he usually wore, with a napkin tied about his head; his countenance was very pale, ghastly, deadly, and he had a bloody wound on one side of his forehead. "Brother!" says the affrighted Joseph. "Bro-

ther!" answered the apparition. Said Joseph, "What's the matter, brother? How came you here?" The apparition replied, "Brother! I have been most barbarously and inhumanly murdered by a debauched fellow, to whom I never did any wrong in my life." Whereupon he gave a particular description of the murderer; adding, "Brother, this fellow, changing his name, is attempting to come over to New England, in Foy or Wild: I would pray you, on the first arrival of either of these, to get an order from the governor to seize the person whom I have now described; and then do you indict him for the murder of me, your brother: I'll stand by you, and prove the indictment." And so he vanished. Mr. Beacon was extremely astonished at what he had seen and heard; and the people of the family not only observed an extraordinary alteration upon him for the week following, but have given me, under their hands, a full testimony that he then gave them an account of this apparition. All this while, Mr. Beacon had no advice of anything amiss attending his brother, then in England; but about the latter end of June following, he understood, by the common ways of communication, that the April before, his brother, going in haste by night to call a coach for a lady. met a fellow, then in drink, with his doxy in his hand. Some way or other the fellow thought himself affronted in the hasty passage of this Beacon, and immediately ran into the fire side

of a neighbouring tavern, from whence he fetched out a fire-fork, wherewith he wounded Beacon on the skull, even in that very part where the apparition showed his wound. Of this wound he languished until he died, on the second of May, about five o'clock in the morning, at London. The murderer, it seems, was endeavouring an escape, as the apparition affirmed, but the friends of the deceased Beacon seized him; and prosecuting him at law, he found the help of such friends as brought him off without the loss of his life. Since which, there has no more been heard of the business.

This history I received of Mr. Joseph Beacon himself, who, a little before his own pious and hopeful death, which followed not long after gave me the story, written and signed with his own hand, and attested with the circumstances I have already mentioned.

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The Londoners, or merchants of New Haven, and men of trafic and business, designed wholly to apply themselves unto trade; but the design failing, they found their great estates to sink so fast, that they must quickly do something. Whereupon, in the year 1646, gathering together almost all the strength which was left them, they

built one ship more, which they freighted for England, with the best part of their tradable estates, and sundry of their eminent persons embarked themselves in her for the voyage. But alas! *the ship was never after heard of.* She foundered in the sea: and in her were lost, not only all the hopes of their future trade, but also the lives of several excellent persons, as well as divers manuscripts of some great men in the country, sent over for the service of the church, which were now buried in the ocean. The fuller story of that grievous matter let the reader, with a just astonishment, accept from the pen of the reverend person who is the pastor of New Haven. I wrote unto him for it, and was thus answered:—

Reverend and dear Sir,

In compliance with our desires, I now give you the relation of that apparition of a ship in the air, which I have received from the most credible judicious and curious surviving observers of it.

In the year 1647, besides much other lading, a far more rich treasure of passengers (five or six of which were persons of chief note and worth in New Haven) put themselves on board a new ship, built at Rhode Island, of about 153 tons, but so walty, that the master (Lamberton) often said she would prove their grave. In the month of January, cutting their way through much ice, on which they

were accompanied with the reverend Mr. Davenport, besides many other friends, with many fears as well as prayers and tears, they set sail. Mr. Davenport, in prayer, with an observable emphasis used these words, "Lord, if it be thy pleasure to bury these our friends in the bottom of the sea, they are thine; save them;" The spring following, no tidings of these friends arrived with the ships from England: New Haven's heart began to fail her. This put the godly people on much prayer, both public and private, That the Lord would (if it was his pleasure) let them hear what he had done with their dear friends, and prepare them with a suitable submission to his holy will; In June next ensuing, a great thunder-storm arose out of north-west: after which (the hemisphere being serene,) about an hour before sun-set, a ship of like dimensions with the aforesaid, with her canvass and colours abroad (though the wind northernly,) appeared in the air, coming up from our harbour's mouth, which lies southward from the town, seemingly with her sails filled under a fresh gale, holding her course north, and continuing under observation, sailing against the wind, for the space of half an hour. Many were drawn to behold this great work of God: yea, the very children cried out, "There's a brave ship!" At length, crowding up as far as there is usually water sufficient for such a vessel, and so near some of the spectators, as *that they imagined a man might*

*hurl a stone on board her*, her maintop seemed to be blown off, but left hanging in the shrouds, then her mizen-top, then all her masting seemed b'own away by the board; quickly after the hulk brought unto a careen, she overset, and so vanished into smoky cloud, which in some time dissipated, leaving, as every where else, a clear air. The admiring spectators could distinguish the several colours of each part, the principal rigging, and such proportions, as caused not only the generality of persons to say, this was the mould of their ship, and thus was her tragic end; but Mr. Davenport also, in public, declared to this effect: "That God had condescended, for the quieting of their afflicted spirits, this extraordinary account of his sovereign disposal of those for whom so many fervent prayers were made continually. Thus,

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

JAMES PIERPONT.

Reader (says Cotton Mather.) There being yet living so many credible gentlemen, that were eye-witness of this wonderful thing, I venture to publish it for a thing as undoubted as it is wonderful.—Book 1, pages 25, 26.

## *Several Stupendous Witchcrafts.*

——*Hæc ipse miserrima vidi.*

Four children of John Goodwin, in Boston, which had enjoyed a religious education, and answered it with a towardly ingenuity—children, indeed, of an exemplary temper and carriage, and an example to all about them for piety, honesty, and industry. These were, in the year 1688, arrested by a very stupendous witchcraft. The eldest of the children a daughter of about thirteen years old, saw cause to examine their laundress, the daughter of a scandalous Irish woman in the neighbourhood about some linen that was missing; and the woman bestowing very bad language, the child was immediately taken with odd fits, that carried in them something diabolical. It was not long before one of her sisters, with two of her brothers, were horribly taken with the like fits, which the most experienced physicians pronounced extraordinary and preternatural; and one thing that the more confirmed them in this opinion was, that all the children were tormented still just the same part of their bodies, at the same time, though their pains flew like swift lightning from one part unto an-

other, and they were kept so far as under, that they neither saw nor heard one another's complaints. At nine or ten o'clock at night, they still had a release from their miseries, and slept all night pretty comfortable: but when the day came, they were most miserably handled. Sometimes they were deaf, sometimes dumb, sometimes blind, and often all this at once. Their tongues would be drawn down their throats, and then pulled out upon their chins, to a prodigious length; their mouths were forced open to such a wideness, that their jaws went out of joint, and anon clap together again with a force like that of a spring lock; and the like would happen to their shoulder-blades and their elbows, and their hand wrists, and several of their joints. They would lie in a benumbed condition, and be drawn together like those that are tied neck and heels: and presently be stretched out, yea, drawn back enormously.

They made piteous outcries that they were cut with knives, and struck with blows, and the plain prints of the wounds were seen upon them. Their necks would be broken, so that their neckbone would seem dissolved unto them that felt it, and yet on a sudden it would become again so stiff, that there was no stirring of their heads; yea, their heads would be twisted almost round; and if the main force of their friends at any time obstructed a dangerous motion which they seemed upon, they would roar exceedingly; and when de-

votions were performed with them, their hearing was utterly taken from them The ministers of Boston and Charlestown, keeping a day of prayer, with fasting, on this occasion, at the troubled house, the youngest of the four children was immediately, happily delivered from all its trouble. But the magistrates, being awakened by the noise of these grievous and horrid occurrences, examined the person who was under the suspicion of having employed these troublesome dæmons, and she gave such a wretched account of herself, that she was committed unto the goaler's custody.

It was not long before this woman (whose name was Glover) was brought upon her trial; but then the court could have no answers from her but in the Irish, which was her native language, although she understood English very well, and had accustomed her whole family to none but English in her former conversation. When she pleaded to her indictment, it was with owning and bragging, rather than denial of her guilt; and the interpreters, by whom the communication between the bench and the bar was managed, were made sensible that a spell had been laid by another witch on this, to prevent her telling tales, by confining her to a language which, it was hoped nobody would understand. The woman's house being searched, several images, or poppets, or babies, made of rags, and stuffed with goat's hair, were thence produced; and the vile woman confessed, that her way to torment the ob-

jects of her malice, was by wetting of her finger with her spittle, and stroaking of those little images. The abused children were then present in the court, and the woman kept still stooping and shrinking, as one that was almost pressed to death with a mighty weight upon her. But one of the images being brought unto her, she oddly and swiftly started up, and snatched it into her hand; but she had no sooner snatched it, than one of the children fell into sad fits before the whole assembly. The judges had their just apprehensions at this, and carefully causing a repetition of the experiment, they still found the same event of it, though the children saw not the hand of the witch was laid upon the images. They asked her, "Whether she had any to stand by her?" She replied, she had; and looking very pertly into the air, she added, "No, he's gone!" and then she acknowledged that she had one, who was her prince, with whom she mentioned I know not what communion. For which cause, the night after, she was heard expostulating with a devil for his thus deserting her, telling him, that "because he had served her so basely and falsely, she had confessed all."

However, to make all clear, the court appointed five or six physicians to examine her very strictly whether she were in no way crazed in her intellectuals. Divers hours did they spend with her, and in all that while no discourse came from her

but what was agreeable: particularly, when they asked her what she thought would become of her soul, she replied, "You ask me a very solemn question, and I cannot tell what to say to it." She professed herself a Roman Catholic, and could recite her *pater noster* in Latin very readily, but there was one clause or two always too hard for her, whereof she said she could not repeat it, if she might have *all the world!*

In the upshot, the doctors returned her *compos-mentis*, and sentence of death was passed upon her. Divers days past between her being arraigned and condemned; and in this time one Hughes testified, that her neighbour (called Howen,) who was cruelly bewitched unto death, about six years before, laid her death to the charge of this woman and bid her (the said Hughes) to remember this, for within six years there would be occasion to mention it. One of Hughes's children was presently taken ill in the same woful manner that Goodwin's; and particularly, the boy in the night time cried out, that a black person, with a blue cap, in the room, tortured him, and that they tryed with their hands in the bed, for to pull out his bowels. The mother of the boy went unto Glover the day following, and asked her, "Why she tortured her poor lad at such a rate?" Glover answered, "Because of the wrong she had received from her;" and boasted "that she had come at him as a black person, with a blue cap; and with her

hand in the bed, would have pulled his bowels out, but could not." Hughes denied that she had wronged her, and Glover then desiring to see the boy, wished him well; upon which he had no more of his indispositions. After the condemnation of the woman, I did myself give divers visits unto her; wherein she told me, that she did use to be at meetings, where her prince, with four more, were present. She told me who the four were, and plainly said, *that her prince was the devil.* When I told her that, and how her prince had cheated her, she replied, "If it be so, I am sorry for that!" And when she declined answering some things that I asked her, she told me, "she would fain give me a full answer, but her spirits would not give her leave; nor could she consent," said she, "without their leave, that I should pray for her." At her execution, she said the afflicted children should not be relieved by her death, for others besides she had a hand in their affliction. Accordingly the three children continued in their furnace as before, and it grew rather seven times hotter than it was. In their fits they cried out of *they* and *them* as the authors of all their miseries but who that *they* and *them* were, they were not able to declare; yet, at last, one of the children was able to discern their shapes, and utter their names. A blow at the place where they saw the spectre, was always felt by the boy himself, in that part of his body that answered what might be

stricken at; and this, though his back were turned and the thing so done that there could be no collusion in it. But, as a blow at the spectre always hurt him, so it always helped him, too; for after the agonies, to which a push or stab at that had put him, were over (as in a minute or two they would be,) he would have a respite from his ails a considerable while, and the spectre would be gone; yea it was very credibly affirmed, that a dangerous woman or two in the town received wounds by the blows thus given to their spectres. The calamities of the children went on till they barked at one another like dogs, and then purred like so many cats. They would complain that they were in a red-hot oven, and sweat and pant as much as if they were really so. Anon they would say that cold water was thrown on them, at which they would shiver very much.

They would complain of blows with great cudgels laid upon them, and we that stood by though we could see no cudgels, yet could see the marks of the blows in red streaks upon their flesh.

They would complain of being roasted on an invisible spit, and lie, and roll, and groan, as if it had been most sensibly so; and by and by shriek that knives were cutting of them. They would complain that their heads were nailed to the floor and it was beyond any ordinary strength to pull them from thence. They would be so limber sometimes, that it was judged every bone they had

might be bent: and anon so stiff, that not a joint of them could be stirred.

One of them dreamt that something was growing within his skin, cross one of his ribs. An expert surgeon searched the place, and found there a brass pin, which could not possibly come to lie there as it did, without a prestigious and mysterious conveyance. Sometimes they would be very mad; and then they would climb over high fences; yea, they would fly like geese, and be carried with an incredible swiftness through the air, having but just their toes now and then upon the ground (sometimes not once in twenty foot,) and their arms waved like the wings of a bird. They were often very near drowning or burning of themselves and they often strangled themselves with their neck-clothes; but the Providence of God still ordered the seasonable succours of them that looked after them. If there happened any mischief to be done where they were, as the dirtying of a garment, or spilling of a cup, or breaking of a glass, they would laugh excessively.

Upon the least reproof of their parents, they were thrown into inexpressible anguish, and roar as excessively. It usually took up abundance of time to dress and undress them, through the strange postures into which they would be twisted on purpose to hinder it.

They were sometimes hindered from eating their meals, by having their teeth set, when anything

was carrying unto their mouths. If there were any discourse of God, or Christ, or any of the things which are not seen, and are eternal, they would be cast into intolerable anguishes. All praying to God, and reading of his word, would occasion them a very terrible vexation. Their own ears would then be stopt with their own hands, and they would roar and howl, and shriek and hollow, to drown the voice of the devotions; yea, if any one in the room took up a bible, to look into it, though the children could see nothing of it, as being in a crowd of spectators, or having their faces another way, yet would they be in wonderful torments till the bible was laid aside. Briefly, *no good thing* might then be endured near those children, which, while they were themselves loved every good thing, in a measure that proclaimed in them the fear of God. If I said unto them, "Child, cry to the Lord Jesus Christ!" their teeth were instantly set. If I said, "Yet, child, look unto him!" their eyes were instantly pulled so far into their heads, that we feared they could never have used them any more.

It was the eldest of these children that fell chiefly under my own observation, for I took her home to my family, partly out of compassion to her parents, but chiefly, that I might be a critical eye-witness of things that would enable me to confute the Sadducism of this debauched age. Here she continued well for some days, applying

herself to actions of industry and piety; but Nov. 20, 1688, she cried out, "Ah, they have found me out!" and immediately she fell into her fits; wherein we often observed, that she would cough up a ball, as big as a small egg, into the side of her wind pipe, that would near choak her, till by stroaking and by drinking it was again carried down.

When I prayed in the room, first her hands were with a strong, though not even force, clapt upon her ears; and when her hands were by our force pulled away, she cried out, "They make such a noise, I cant hear a word." She complained that Glover's chain was upon her leg, and after saying so, her gait was exactly such as the chained witch before she died. When her tortures were passed over, still frolicks would succeed, wherein she would continue hours, yea, days together, talking, perhaps never wickedly, but always wittily, beyond herself; and at certain provocations her torments would renew upon her, till we had left off to give them; yet she frequently told us in these frolics, That if she might but steal, or be drunk, she should be well immediately. She told us, that she must go down to the bottom of our well (and we had much ado to hinder it,) for they said there was plate there, and they would bring her up safely again.

We wondered at this, for she had never heard of any plate there: and we ourselves, who had

newly bought the house, were ignorant of it; but the former owner of the house just then coming in, told us, there had been plate for many years lost at the botton of the well. Moreover, one singular passion that frequently attended her was this:

An invisible chain would be clapt about her, and she, in much pain and fear, cry out when they began to put it on. Sometimes we could with our hands knock it off, as it began to be fastened; but ordinarily, when it was on, she would be pulled out of her seat, with such violence, towards the fire, that it was as much as one or two of us could do to keep her out. Her eyes were not brought to be perpendicular to her feet when she rose out of her seat, as the mechanism of a human body requires in them that rise, but she was dragged wholly by other hands. And if we stamped on the hearth, just between her and the fire, she screamed out, that by jarring the chain we hurt her.

I may add, that they put an unseen rope with a cruel noose, about her neck, whereby she was choaked until she was black in the face; and tho' it was got off before it had killed her, yet there were the red marks of it, and of a finger and a thumb near it, remaining to be seen for some while afterwards. Furthermore, not only upon her own looking into the Bible, but if any one else in the room did it, wholly unknown to her, she would fall into insufferable torments.

Besides these, there was another inexplicable thing in her condition. Every now and then an invisible horse would be brought unto her by those whom she called them, and her company upon the approach of which, her eyes would be still closed up. "For," said she, "they say I am a tell tale, and therefore they will not let me see them." Hereupon she would give a spring as one mounting an horse, and settling herself in a riding posture, she would in her chair be agitated, as one sometimes ambling, sometimes trotting, and sometimes galloping very furiously. In these motions we could not perceive that she was moved by the stress of her feet upon the ground, for often she touched it not. When she had rode a minute or two, she would seem to be at a rendezvouse with her invisible company, and there she would maintain a discourse with them, asking them many questions concerning herself (we gave her none of ours,) and have answers from them, which indeed none but herself perceived. Then would she return and inform us, how they did intend to handle her for a day or two afterwards, and some other things that she inquired. Her horse would sometimes throw her with much violence, especially if any one stabbed or cut the air under her. But she would briskly mount again, and perfotm her fantastic journeys, mostly in her chair, but sometimes also she would be carried from her chair, out of one room into another, very oddly, in the

postures of a riding woman. At length, she pretended her horse could ride up the stairs; and unto admiration she rode (that is, was tossed as one that rode) up the stairs. There then stood open the study of one belonging to the family, into which entering, she stood immediately on her feet, and cried out, "They are gone! they are gone! They say they cannot—God won't let 'em come here!" And she presently and perfectly came to herself, so that her whole discourse and carriage was altered unto the greatest measure of sobriety; and she sat reading of the Bible, and other good books, for a good part of the afternoon. Her affairs calling her anon to go down again, the dæmons were in a quarter of a minute, as bad upon her as before; and her horse was waiting for her. Some then, to see whether there had not been a fallacy in what had newly happened, resolved for to have her up unto the study, where she had been at ease before; but she was then so strangely distorted, that it was an extreme difficulty to drag her up stairs. The demons would pull her out of the people's hands, and make her heavier than perhaps two or three of herself. With incredible toil (though she kept screaming, "They say I must not go in") she was pulled in; where she was no sooner got, but she could stand on her feet, and with an altered note, say, "Now I am well."

She would be faint at first, and say she felt

something go out of her! the noises whereof we sometimes heard, like those of a mouse; but in a minute or two she could apply herself to devotion, and express herself with discretion, as well as ever in her life.

To satisfy some strangers, the experiment was divers times with the same success repeated, until my lothness to have anything done, like making a charm of a room, caused me to forbid the repetition of it. But enough of this. The ministers of Boston and Charlestown kept another day of prayer, with fasting, for Goodwin's afflicted family; after which, the children had a sensible, but a gradual abatement of their sorrows until perfect ease was restored unto them. The young woman dwelt at my house the rest of the winter, having by a virtuous conversation made herself enough welcome to the family. But ere long I thought it convenient for me to entertain my congregation with a sermon on the memorable Providences wherein these children had been concerned (afterwards published.) When I had begun to study my sermon, her tormentors again seized upon her, and managed her with a special design, as was plain, to disturb me in what I was then about.

In the worst of her extravagancies formerly, she was more dutiful to myself than I had reason to expect; but now her whole carriage to me was with a sauciness which I was not used anywhere to be treated withal. She would knock at my study

door, affirming, "That some below would be glad to see me," though there was none that asked for me; and when I chid her for telling what was false, her answer was, "Mrs. Mather is always glad to see you."

At last the demons put her upon saying that she was dying, and the matter proved such, that we, feared she really was; for she lay, she tossed, she pulled, just like one dying, and urged hard for some one to die with her, seeming loth to die alone. She argued concerning death, with paraphrases on the thirty-first psalm, in strains that quite amazed us; and concluded, that though she was loth to die, yet if God said she must *she must!* adding, that the Indians would quickly shed much blood in the country, and horrible tragedies would be acted in the land. Thus the vexations of the children ended.

But after awhile they began again; and then one particular minister, taking a particular compassion on the family, set himself to serve them in the methods prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ Accordingly, the Lord being besought thrice in three days of prayer, with fasting, on this occasion the family saw their deliverance perfected; and the children afterwards, all of them, not only approved themselves devout Christians, but, unto the praise of God, reckoned these their afflictions among the special incentives of their Christianity.

The ministers of Boston and Charlstown after-

wards accompanied the printed narrative of these things with their attestation to the truth of it. And when it was reprinted at London, the famous Mr. Baxter prefixed a preface unto it, wherein he says, "This great instance comes with such convincing evidence, that he must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it."

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### *A Miracle.*

A Christian Indian, living at Martha's Vineyard, had his arm so withered, that he could make no use of it. Upon which occasion he went unto divers of his relations, desiring them to join with him in prayer for the speedy recovery of his arm. He could find no faith in any of them about the matter, except some little in his wife, with whom therefore, he set apart a time solemnly to seek after Christ, in the case which thus distressed him; and behold, he was quickly after this perfectly restored, unto the utter astonishment of all his neighbours.

It is a remarkable passage which Mr. Daniel Rogers hath in his "Naaman" about our New English plantations, "Who can, or dare, deny but that the calling of those Americans to the knowledge of the truth may seem a weighty oc-

casion to expect from God the gift of miracles?" Behold, reader, the expectation remarkably accommodated!

## *A Dream.*

Reader, pass thy judgement on a thing that has newly happened. The story is published among us, and nobody doth, or can, doubt the truth of it.

In Berwick, of our New England, there dwelt one Ephraim Joy, as infamous a drunkard as, perhaps any in the world. By his drunkenness he not only wasted his estate, but ruined his body too. At last, being both poor and sick, and therewithal hurried by sore temptations, a gentleman of Portsmouth, out of pure charity and compassion, took him into his house. While he lay ill there, the approaches of death and hell, under his convictions of his debauched life, exceedingly terrified him. Amidst these terrors, he dreamt that he made his appearance before the tribunal of the Lord Jesus Christ, the judge of the world, by whom he was condemned; whereupon he had a sight of the horrors in the state of damnation which was now arresting of him. He cried with an anguish of importunity unto the Judge for a pardon; but his

Eternal Judge answered him that he would not yet give him an absolute pardon, but allow him fourteen days to repent: in which time, if he did repent, he should have a pardon. He dreamt, that accordingly he repented, and was pardoned, and at the fourteen day's end was received into heaven. The poor man declared his dream to the people of the house, and sent for the help of ministers, and other Christians, and expressed the humiliations of a very deep repentance. As he drew near his end, he grew daily more lively in the exercise of his faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, relying on him for salvation; until he confidently said, his peace was made with God. But behold, at the expiration of the fourteen days precisely and exactly, according to his dream, he died. Yea, he died full of that great joy which gave no little to the spectators.

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One of my honest neighbours, whose name is Christopher Monk, brought me this account of the accomplishment of his dream, and of his remarkable deliverance from the Turks;—

In a ship of Bermudas, called the John's Adventure, whereof I was master, July 28, 1681, we departed from Torbay, in the west of England.

Eight days after this we saw a ship, about 8 A. M. that gave us chace; and though we made what sail we could to run from it, by 2 P. M. it came up, with us. It proved to be the Half-Moon, of Algiers, who sent their launch on board of us, and carried us all on board the Turk's ship, except one, whom they left to help them in sailing of ours. The captain having examined us of divers things, and robbed us of what silver or gold we had about us, sent us forward among the other Christians that were there before us, who entertained us with sorrowful lamentations.

I have since reflected on it, that though formerly I used morning and evening prayers with my company, yet in the course of our chase my fears and cares made me have no heart for the duty. But application of ourselves unto outward reliefs and second causes proved all in vain.

One of the Moors took away my Bible, which I thought was a sore judgment on me, because of my neglecting to read it while I had it. But, through the mercy of God, I had soon an old Bible, which the Turks reckoned of little value, given to me. This was my sweetest companion, and my greatest consolation in my distress.

I usually read those places which, at my opening of the Bible, first offered themselves unto me; and often they would happen to be exceedingly pertinent unto my present condition: especially, many passages in the 37th Psalm very much affected me.

Once, coming upon the deck in the morning, and finding most of all the Turks and Moors asleep, I thought, that if I had been owner of a sharp knife *I could have cut the throats of a great many, without making any noise;* and withall communicated the notion to some of the English abroad, how easily we might conquer our adversaries, and master the ship. Some consented, and prescribed a way; but one, more fearful than the rest, bid me have a care what I said, for some among us, he affirmed, would willingly betray our design, unto the loss of our own lives. Hereupon I spoke no more of it, but went down between decks to advise with my Bible, and this was the scripture which then occurred unto me:—"Cease from anger, and forsake wrath; fret not thyself in any wise to do evil, for evil doers shall be cut off, but they that wait on the Lord shall inherit the earth; for yet a little while, and the wicked shall not be." Upon this I wholly desisted from my evil intent; and resolving to take the advice of the Psalm, I also applied unto myself that scripture in Lam. iii. 26 "It is good that a man should both hope, and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord." And that in Isaiah xlix. 24, 25, and that in Isaiah liii 3. 4.

One morning, as I slept upon some old sails between decks, I dreamed, that I was upon an hill, where was a little sort of a log house, like some houses that I have seen in Virginia; that some

who were with me had young eagles in their hands, bruising and squeezing them in their hands till they made me cry; that there appeared, at length, two great white eagles upon the top of another hill, coming towards us, at the cry of the young ones, to release them; that for fear, lest the old eagles might kill us, I, with several others were put into the little house to secure us; and that hereupon the young ones were set at liberty and somebody said unto me, "For the crying of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; and I will set him at liberty from him that puffeth at him." I thought also that I heard somebody cry out, "A sail! a sail!" And I thought myself upon the upper deck, imagining that there I saw a ship or two. With this I awoke, and went upon the deck; but seeing no other ship, I considered a little upon my dream telling it unto my mate, and adding, that I expected a speedy redemption.

I continued thus with the Turks till the ninth of September: all which time they never offered me any abuse, though they did beat other Christians very much. On that day, about eight in the morning, a Christian at the fore-topmast head saw three ships, one of which was a Frenchmen, which had been in our company the night before, and now told the other two ships that they had seen a Turk the preceding evening. The two ships were two small English frigates, the James galley and the

Seaface. The Seaface, having a man at the top-mast head, espied us, and made sail towards us, and so did the James gally. We lay still until I saw their sails above the water, like my two white eagles, as white as snow, through the sun shining on them. The Turks made sail to run from them yet at night the James galley came up with us; whereupon I, with the rest of the Christians, was chained down in the hold. After a little discourse, they fired on our Turks a volley of small shot, and a broadside. The Seaface seeing that, boarded us; but in less than an hour's time she lost her foremast, and bowsprit, and head, and about five-and-twenty men, and fell a-stern. Yet the other, which was less than she, shot all her mast away by two in the morning, and when it was day the Turks yielded their ship. Then they that were leading us captive were themselves carried into captivity, Sept, 10, 1681.

CHRISTOPHER MONK.

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*Molestations from Evil Spirits.*

These have so abounded in this country, that I question whether any one town has been free from sad examples of them. The neighhours have not been careful enough to record and attest the prodigious occurrences of this importance which have

been among us. Many true and strange occurrences from the invisible world, in these parts of the world, are faultily buried in oblivion. But some of those very stupendous things have had their memory preserved in the written memorials of honest, prudent, and faithful men, whose veracity in the relations cannot without great injury be questioned.

Of these I will now offer the public some remarkable histories, for every one of which we have had such a sufficient evidence, that no reasonable man in this whole country ever did question them, and it will be unreasonable to do it in any other. For my own part, I would be as exceedingly afraid of writing a false thing, as of doing an ill thing, but have my pen always move in the fear of God.

In the year 1679, the house of William Morse, at Newberry, was infested with demons after a most horrid manner, not altogether unlike the demons of Tedworth. It would fill many pages, to relate all the infestations, but the chief of them were such as these:—

Bricks, and sticks, and stones, were often, by some invisible hand, thrown at the house, and so were many pieces of wood. A cat was thrown at the woman of the house, and a long staff danced up and down in the chimney; and afterwards the same long staff was hanged by a line, and swung to and fro; and when two persons laid it on the

fire to burn it, it was as much as they were able to do with their joint strength to hold it there. An iron crook was violently, by an invisible hand hurled about; and a chair flew about the room, until at last it litt upon the table, where the meat stood ready to be eaten, and had spoiled all if the people had not with much ado saved a little. A chest was by an invisible hand carried from one place to another, and the doors barricadoed, and the keys of the family taken, some of them from the bunch where they were tied, and the rest flying about with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. For one while the folks of the house could not sup quietly, but ashes would be thrown into their suppers, and on their heads and their clothes; and the shoes of the man being left below, one of them was filled with ashes and coals, and thrown up after him. When they were in bed a stone weighing above three pounds was divers times thrown upon them. A box and a board was likewise thrown upon them; and a bag of hops being taken out of a chest, they were by the invisible hand beaten therewith, till some of the hops were scattered on the floor, where the bag was then laid and left. The man was often struck by that hand with several instruments; and the same hand cast their good things into the fire: yea, while the man was at prayer with his household, a besom gave him a blow on his head behind, and fell down before his face. When they were win-

nowing their barley, dirt was thrown at them; and assaying to fill their half-bushel with corn, the foul corn would be thrown in with the clean, so irresistably, that they were forced thereby to give over what they were about.

While the man was writing, his inkhorn was by the invisible hand snatched from him, and being able nowhere to find it, he saw it at length drop out of the air down by the fire. A shoe was laid upon his shoulder, but when he would have catched it, it was raped from him; it was then clapt upon his head, and there he held it so fast, that the unseen fury pulled him with it backward on the floor. He had his cap torn off his head, and in the night he was pulled by the hair, and pinched, and scratched; and the invisible hand pricked him with some of his awls, and with needles and bodkins; and blows that fetched blood were sometimes given him. Frozen clods of cow-dung were often thrown at the man; and his wife going to milk the cows, they could by no means preserve the vessels of milk from the like annoyances, which made it fit only for the hogs.

She going down into the cellar, the trap-door was immediately by an invisible hand shut upon her, and a table brought, and laid upon the door, which kept her there till the man removed it. When he was writing another time, a dish went and leapt into a pail, and cast water on the man, and on all the concerns before him, so as to defeat

what he was then upon. His cap jumped off his head, and on again; and the pot lid went off the pot into the kettle, then over the fire together.

A little boy belonging to the family was a principal sufferer in these molestations; for he was flung about at such a rate, that they feared his brains would have been beaten out; nor did they find it possible to hold him. His bed clothes would be pulled from him, his bed shaken, and his bed-staff leap forward and backward. The man took him to keep him in a chair, but the chair fell a dancing, and both of them were very near being thrown into the fire.

These and a thousand such vexations befalling the boy at home, they carried him to live abroad at a doctor's. There he was quiet; but returning home, he suddenly cried out, he was pricked on the back; where they found strangely sticking a three-tined fork, which belonged unto the doctor, and had been seen at his house after the boy's departure. Afterwards his troublers found him out at the doctor's also, where crying out again he was pricked on the back, they found an iron spindle stuck into him; and on the like out cry again they found pins on a paper stuck into him; and once more, a long iron, a bowl of a spoon, and a piece of a pan-shred, in like sort stuck upon him.

He was taken out of his bed, and thrown under it; and all the knives belonging to the house were one after another stuck into his back, which the

spectators pulled out; only one of them seemed unto the spectators to come out of his mouth. The poor boy was divers times thrown into the fire, and preserved from scorching there with much ado. For a long while he barked liked a dog, and then he clocqued like an hen, and could not speak rationally. His tongue would be pulled out of his mouth; but when he could recover it so far as to speak, he complained that a man called P——l, appeared unto him as the cause of all.

Once in the day-time he was transported where none could find him, till at last they found him creeping on one side, and sadly dumb and lame. When he was able to express himself, he said, "that P——l had carried him over the top of the house, and hurt him against a cart wheel in the barn; and accordingly they found some remainders of the threshed barley which was on the barn floor hanging on his garments.

The spectre would make all his meat, when he was going to eat, fly out of his mouth; and instead thereof, make him fall to eating of ashes, and sticks, and yarn. The man and his wife taking the boy to bed with them, a chamber-pot with its contents was thrown upon them. They were severely pinched and pulled out of the bed; and many other fruits of devilish spite were they dogged withal, until it pleased God mercifully to shorten the chain of the devil. But before the devil was chained up, the invisible hand, which

did all these things, began to put on an astonishing visibility.

They often thought they felt the hand that scratched them, while yet they saw it not; but when they thought they had hold of it, it would give them the slip.

Once the first beating the man was discernible, but they could not catch hold of it. At length an apparition of a blackamoor child shewed it self plainly to them. And another time a drumming on the boards was heard, which was followed with a voice that sang "Revenge! revenge! sweet is revenge!" And this the people, being terrified, called upon God; whereupon there followed a mournful note, several times uttering these expressions, "Alas! alas! we knock no more, we knock no more!" And there was an end of all.

On June 11, 1612, showers of stones were thrown by an invisible hand upon the house of George Walton, at Portsmouth; whereupon the people going out, found the gate wrung off the hinges, and stones flying and falling thick about them, and striking of them seemingly with a great force, but really affecting them no more than if a soft touch were given them. The glass windows were broken to pieces by stones that came not from without, but from within; and other instruments were in like manner hurled about. Nine of the stones they took up, whereof some were as hot as if they came out of the fire; and marking

them, they laid them on the table, but in a little while they found some of them again flying about. The spit was carried up the chimney, and coming down with the point forward, struck in the back log; from whence one of the company removing it, it was by an invisible hand thrown out at the window. This disturbance continued from day to day; and sometimes a dismal hollow whistling would be heard, and sometimes the trotting and snorting of a horse, but nothing to be seen. The man went up the great bay in a boat unto a farm he had there; but there the stones found him out; and carrying from the house to the boat a stirrup-iron, the iron came jingling after him through the woods as far as his house, and at last went away, and was heard no more. The anchor leaped over board several times, and stopt the boat. A cheese was taken out of the press; and crumbled all over the floor; a piece of iron struck into the wall, and a kettle hung thereupon. Several cocks of hay mowed near the house were taken up, and hung upon trees, and others made into small whisps, and scattered about the house. The man was much hurt by some of the stones: he was a Quaker, and suspected that a woman, who charged him with injustice in detaining some land from her, did by witchcraft occasion these preternatural occurrences. However, at last, they came unto an end.

## *The Wonderful Story of Major Gibbons.*

Among remarkable sea deliverances, no less than three several writers have published that wherein Major Edward Gibbons, of Boston in New England, was concerned. A vessel bound from Boston to some other parts of America, was, thro' the continuance of contrary winds, kept so long at sea, that the people abroad were in extreme straits for want of provisions; and seeing that nothing here below could afford them any relief, they looked upwards unto heaven in humble and fervent supplications. The winds continuing still as they were, one of the company made a sorrowful motion, that they should by a lot single out one to die, and by death to satisfy the ravenous, hunger of the rest. After many a doleful and fearful debate upon this motion, they came to a result that it must be done. The lot is cast; one of the company is taken; but where is the executioner that shall do the terrible office upon a poor innocent? It is a death now to think who shall act this bloody part in the tragedy. But before they fall upon this involuntary and unnatural execution, they once more went unto their zealous prayers; and behold, while they were calling upon God, he answered them; for there leaped a mighty fish into their boat, which, to their double joy, not only quieted their outrageous hunger, but also

gave them some token of a further deliverance. However, the fish is quickly eaten; the horrible famine returns, the horrible distress is renewed; a black despair again seizes their spirits. For another morsel they come to a second lot, which fell upon another person, but still they cannot find an executioner. They once again fall to their importunate prayers; and, behold, a second answer from above! A great bird lights and fixes itself upon the mast; one of the men spies it; and there it stands until he took it by the wing with his hand. This was a second life from the dead. This fowl, with the omen of a further deliverance in it, was a sweet feast unto them. Still their disappointments follow them; they can see no land, they know not where they are. Irresistible hunger once more pinches them! they have no hope to be saved but by a third miracle. They return to another lot; but before they go to the heart-breaking task of slaying the person under designation, they repeat their addresses unto the God of heaven, their former friend in adversity. And now they look, and look again, but there is nothing. Their devotions are concluded and nothing appears; yet they hoped, yet they stayed, yet they lingered. At last one of them spies a ship, which put a new hope and life into them all. They bear up with their ship, they man their long boat, they beg to board the vessel, and are admitted. It proves a French pirate. Major Gibbons pe-

titions for a little bread, and offers all for it; but the commander was one who had formerly received considerable kindnesses of Major Gibbons at Boston, and now replied cheerfully, "Major Gibbons, not a hair of you or your company shall perish, if it lies in my power to preserve you." Accordingly he supplied their necessities, and they made a comfortable end of their voyage.

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### *A Pious Anchorite.*

Let Mandelsloe tell of his poor Fleming, who lived an insulary anchorite upon a desolate island many months together; I have a story that shall in most things equal it, and in some exceed it.

On Aug. 25, 1676, Mr. Ephraim How, wih his two sons, did set sail from New-Haven for Boston, in a small ketch of about seventeen ton; and returning from Boston for New-Haven, Sept. 10, contrary winds detained him for some time, and then illness and sickness, till a month expired. He then renewed his voyage as far as Cape-Cod; but suddenly the weather became so tempestuous that it forced them off to sea, where the outrageous wind and seas did often almost overwhelm them; and here in about eleven days his elder son died, and in a few days more his younger. It is noted in 1 Chron. vii. 22, that when the sons of Ephraim

were dead, Ephraim their father mourned many days, and his brethren came to comfort him. This our mourning Ephraim could not have any comfort from his friends on shore, when his two sons were thus dead; but they died after so holy and hopeful a manner, that their father was not without his consolations. However, their straits and fears were now increased, as their hands were diminished; and another of the company soon after died like the former. Half the company was now gone; and Mr. How, tho' in a very weak state of health, now stands at the helm twenty-four hours and thirty-six hours at a time, with the rude waves flying over the vessel at such a rate, that if he had not been lashed fast he must have been washed overboard. In this extremity he was at a loss whether he should persist in striving for the New England shore, or bear away to the Southern Islands; and proposing the matter to one Mr. Augur (who with a boy, was all that was left for his help,) they first sought unto God by earnest prayer in this difficult case, and then determined the difficulty by casting a lot. The lot fell for New-England; and ere a month was expired, they lost the rudder of their vessel, with which they lost all hope of being saved. In this deplorable condition they continued a fortnight: and thus, for six weeks together, Mr. How, though laboring under much infirmity, was hardly ever dry. Nor had they in all this while the benefit of warm food

more than thrice, or thereabouts. When the seventh week dawned upon them, the vessel was driven on the tailings of a ledge of rocks, where the sea broke with no little violence; and looking out, they spied a dismal, doleful, rocky island unto the lee-ward; upon which, if the providence of God had not by the breakers given them timely notice, they had been dashed in pieces. This extremity was heaven's opportunity! They immediately let go an anchor, and got out the boat, and God made that storm a calm, so that the waves were still. Being under the astonishments of the circumstances now upon them, they took little out of the vessel; but when they came a shore, they found themselves on a desolate island (near Cape Sables,) which had not either man or beast upon it; and a prospect of being, therefore, starved quickly to death, now stared upon them. While they were under this deadly prospect, a storm arose that staved their vessel to pieces, from whence a cask of powder was brought ashore, a barrel of wine, and half a barrel of mollossas, together with several other things, which assisted them in making a sort of tent, for their preservation from the terrible cold. However, new and sore distress now attended them; for though they had powder, with other necessaries for fowling, there were seldom any fowls to be seen upon this forlorn island, except a few gulls, crows, and ravens, and these were so few, that there could

be rarely more than one shot at a time. Oftentimes half a one of these fowls, with the liquor, made a meal for three. Once they lived five days without any sustenance at all: during all which space, they did not feel themselves pinched with hunger as at other times, which they esteemed a special favour of heaven unto them. When they had been twelve weeks in tbis lonesome condition, Mr. How's dear friend, Mr. Augur, died; and the lad also died in the April following. So that his lonesomeness was now become as much as any hermit could have wished for. For a long and a sad quarter of a year together now, he saw fishing vessels every now and then sailing by; but though he used all possible means to acquaint them with his distresses, either they saw him not, or they feared lest some of the Indians then in hostility against the English might be quartered there.

The good man, while thus deserted, kept many days in prayer, with fasting, wherein he confessed and bewailed the many sins which had rendered him worthy of these calamities, and cried unto God for his deliverances. But at last it came into his mind, that he ought very solemnly to give thanks unto God for the marvellous preservations which he had hitherto experienced; and accordingly he set apart a day for solemn thanksgiving unto God, his gracious preserver, for the divine favours which had been intermixed with all his troubles. Immediately after this, a vessel be-

longing to Salem did pass by that island; and seeing this poor servant of God there, they took him in. So he arrived at Salem July 18, 1667, and returned unto his family at New-Haven.

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*Visions and strange Occurrences.*

William Davies, with nine sailors, whereof one was a negro, and one boy, and one passenger, sailed out of Boston, December 28, 1695, in the ship called *The Margaret*, of about eighty tons, bound for Barbadoes, laden with fish, beef, and a small parcel of lumber. Within a few days, one of the sailors, named Winlock Curtis, being at the helm, about 8 o'clock at night called unto the captain, telling him that he could steer no longer: whereof, when the captain asked him the reason, he besought the said captain to think him neither drunk nor mad; and then added, that he had but a little time to tarry here; constantly affirming therewithal, that a spirit appearing by the biddekel accused him of killing a woman (which the sailor said that he had left alive,) and reported unto him that the rest of the ship's company had signed *The Book*, which he was from that argument now urged also to sign. The sailor declared his resolu-

tion that he would never hearken to the devil, and requested that he might be furnished with a bible, in the reading whereof he was at first greatly interrupted; but at length he was able distinctively to read it. On the day following, he was violently and suddenly seized in an unaccountable manner, and furiously thrown down upon the deck, where he lay wallowing in a great agony, and foamed at the mouth, and grew black in the face, and was near strangled with a great lump rising in his neck nigh his throat, like that which bewitched or possessed people used to be attended withal. In a few days he came a little to himself, but still behaved himself as one much under the power of some devil, talking of the visions which he saw in the air, and of a spirit coming for him with a boat. The ship's company, to prevent his going overboard to that invisible spirit, which he attempted once to do, confined him to his cabin, and there tied him, and bound him so that they thought they had him fast enough; but he soon came forth without noise, to their great astonishment. He then fell into a sleep, wherein he continued for twenty-four hours; after which he came to himself, and remained very sensible, giving a particular narrative of the odd circumstances which he had been in.

Upon Jan. 17, in the north lat. 19, sailing S. W. with a fresh gale East, and E. and by S., about 9 at night, a small white cloud arose with-

out rain, or any extraordinary increase of wind, which falling upon the ship, immediately pressed her down to starboard at once; and the hatches flying out she was immediately so full of water, that it was impossible to recover her. If she had not been laden with lumber, she must have sunk to the bottom; whereas now being full of water, which drowned the boy sleeping in the cabin, she soon righted, but floated along overflowed with the sea, after this, for eleven weeks together, in which time there happened the ensuing passages:

First, within a few days, one Mr. Dibs, the passenger, who formerly had been very undaunted and courageous, began to talk oddly of several persons in Barbadoes; adding, that one stood at the main-mast, who came for him with a wherry. And soon after this he was gone insensibly, none knowing when or how. About a fortnight after this, one John Jones was in the same insensible manner carried away, and so was the above mentioned Winlock Curtis. Within about a fortnight more, one of their number died, through the unconquerable difficulties of the voyage. And about a fortnight further, the negro, sitting as not in his right mind, and another sailor, were in the night insensibly carried away. About a week after, one Sterry Lion, the carpenter, not being in any disorder of mind at all, often spoke of his end being at hand, and that it would be by a wave of the sea, fetching him away. Him they saw carried

away by a wave about nine o'clock in the morning

All this while their food was only flesh, which they eat raw, because they could now have no fire; and fresh fish, which in great quantities came into the vessel unto them. At several times, and especially before the taking away of any of their number, they heard various and wondrous noises like the voice of birds, as turkeys and other fowl. While they were in this condition they saw three vessels, and judged that all the three saw them; nevertheless, none came a-near them to relieve them. Their lodging was on two boards placed athwart the rail, near the taffril, covered with a sail: and the first land they discovered was Desiado, but a northerly current hindered their landing there. The next land was Grand Terra; but the wind in the north hindered their landing there also. At last, with a little sail, being reduced unto three in number, they ran their ship ashore at Guadalupa, the 5th of April, about two o'clock on Monday morning, where the French kindly entertained them, not as prisoners, but as travellers. Thence they came to Barbadoes, and there they made oath to the truth of this narrative.

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*Sore Calamities at Sea survived.*

A small vessel set sail from Bristol to New-

England, Sept. 22, 1681, with the master, whose name was William Dutten. There were seven men aboard, having provisions for three months; but by contrary winds they were twenty weeks before they could make any land; and by other disasters and distresses it was rendered very unlikely that ever they should make any land at all. The fierce winds upon the coasts of New England made them conclude, on Dec. 12, that they would bear away for Barbadoes; but before this they lost one barrel of their beer, by the head being broken out; and having but seven barrels of water, three of them leaked away. When their victuals failed them, the merciful God, whose is the sea, for he made it, sent them a supply, by causing dolphins every now and then to come so near their vessel as to be catched; yet it was observable that they could never catch any but in an extreme necessity; nor any more than would serve their present necessity. But their misery through the want of water, was very sore upon them; for though they tried much to take the rain-water when any fell, the winds were usually so furious, that they could save little, if any, of it. However, when they came near the latitude of Bermudaz, they did, unto their great joy, save two barrels of rain-water; but then the rats, unexpectedly eating holes in the barrels, all that water was lost again. Once when a shower of rain fell, they saved a pint, which, though it was made very bitter

by the tar, yet it was a sweet water unto their thirsty souls; and they divided it among seven, drinking a thimbleful at a time, which went five times about. On Jan. 27, a good shower of wet fell; and that they might preserve it, they laid their linens open to the rain, and wringing them dry they obtained seven gallons of water, which being bottled up, was a great and a long refreshment unto them. New straits then came upon them. They catched with much ado, three or four of the rats that had cheated them of their drink, and made of them a meat, which to their famished souls did seem very delicate. But the torment of their drought grew insupportable; for sometimes they had not a drop of any fresh water for a whole week together. When they killed a dolphin, they would suck his blood for the relief of their thirst; yea, their thirst caused them to drink large quantities of salt water, which yet they found allayed it not. They would go overboard with a rope fastened about them, that by drenching themselves awhile in the sea, they might ease the internal heat which parched them; and when they stood any of them to steer the vessel, they would have their feet in a pail of sea water to refrigerate them. In this calamity some of the seamen penitently confessed, how just it was with God thus to punish them who had intemperately abused themselves with drink so often in their former conversation. But at length, on Feb. 7, they met

with a Guinea man, who supplied them with necessaries, and so they got safe into Barbadoes, from whence they afterwards made their voyage to New-England.

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### *Wonderful Distress, and more Wonderful Deliverances.*

A number of mariners, in a small pink belonging to Boston, called the *Blessing*, were taken by an half-galley of cruel Spaniards, on April 1, 1683, who put them all immediately into their hold, except the master and mate, the latter of which they tormented by twisting a piece of sea-net about his head, until his eyes were ready to start out; and then hanging him up by the two thumbs to make him confess what money they had aboard; but when they saw he would confess nothing, they made fast a rope about his neck, and asked their commander whether they should hoist him up or not. They consulted also whether they should not hang all the men; but not agreeing on that point, they concluded on somewhat no less truculent and barbarous. They kept one of the men on board, on whom they afterwards exercised bloody cruelties; and the other six belonging

to the vessel they thus disposed of:—They carried the poor man among the mangrove trees, that grew upon an adjacent island, and stripping them stark-naked, they caused each of them to turn their backs unto the branch of a tree, and spread their arm abroad, in which posture they bound the arms of each man to the branches, two by two, about a quarter of a mile distance between the several couples, thus leaving them to perish without any pity. They stood up to the middle-leg in water, their feet contiguous, and their faces turned so that they might see each others miseries. But about three hours after, one of these men espied a stick, with a crook at one end, not far from him; whereupon he said unto his companion, "If it please God that we might get that stick into our hands, it might be a means to work our deliverance;" and thereupon trying to bring the stick towards them with their feet, in a little time they happily effected it, and so bore it up with their feet, that at last the man got hold of it with his hand, and herewith, by degrees, they loosed the knot that was upon the bowing of their arms, and shifting it into their fingers, did by little and little get so far in loosing it, that they quite undid it, setting themselves at liberty. Now, returning their thanks to the God of heaven for helping them thus far, they hastened unto the help of their despairing friends. But their next care was, how to keep themselves out of

the sight of those barbarous wretches, from whom they had received this usage; yet they had not gone above a mile, before they spied some of them got upon an high tree to discover ships that passed that way. Upon this they were so affrighted, that they ran among the thickets, and lost one another and met not again till the third night after; in all which time they found no water, but licked the dew from the leaves from the plants thereabouts.

Whilks and crabs were their best food, whilst they had much ado to preserve themselves from being food to their devourers. But anon they found a well with a barrel in it, where they resolved they would wait for help or death. On April 13, the mate (namely, Charles Cretchet) with two more (namely, Robert Pierce and Peter Clement) of these distressed people, made a raft with such wood as they found on the island, and put to sea.

On April 19, the master, and the two left with him, followed the example of the mate and his two, in making a raft for a voyage to sea; but as they were going to put off, they espied a couple of sails; upon which they betook themselves unto the water, that they might get unto these vessels, which at length took them up. These two vessels were a couple of conoos, having three men apiece who kept them thirty-two days, and then carried them into Havannah, where the governor notwithstanding they fairly related unto him their circum-

stances, kept them in prison eighteen days without allowing them any food: so that if they had not received some sustenance from a few poor English prisoners who had been there before them, they had been perfectly starved. At last they understood that their ship was in that harbour, and the persons who took her: whereupon they petitioned the governor that they might have their ships again, insomuch as they could make no legal prize of her, for she had no Spanish goods aboard. Their petition was granted on their ships (though emptied of every thing but her ballast) was restored unto them: nor could they, but a new petition, obtain any thing but her sails, and some small parts of her lading, that had not been disposed of.

On June 10, the hunters having taken up Robert Pierce and Peter Clement, and brought them into Havannah, the governor examined them wha was become of their mates, and they told him, that they were five days at sea upon the raft, and had only two crabs all that while to subsist upon; and then, by the wind, they were driven upon the same island which they had left, where they wandered up and down for a month together, and in their travels lost their mate, who was, through weakness, unable to travel. Hereupon the governor sent them aboard also; and, the night before they sailed, the hunters informed the governor, that they had likewise taken up the mate, alive; but

the governor hurried them away in such haste that they could not know the certainty thereof; and so they prosecuted their voyage for Boston, whither they came, well nigh starved with cold not having any more clothes than a canvas frock for each man, which the turtlers had bestowed upon them.

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We will add one more, which is a late and a fresh instance, and attested beyond all contradiction.

On the 16th of October, in this present year 1697, there arrived at New Haven a sloop of about 50 tons, whereof Mr. William Trowbridge was master; the vessel belonged unto New Haven, the persons on board were seven, and seventeen long weeks had they now spent since they came from their port, which was Fayal. By so unusually tedious a passage, a terrible famine unavoidably came upon them; and, for the five last weeks of their voyage, they were so destitute of all food, that through faintness they would have chosen death rather than life. But they were a praying and pious company, and when these *poor men cried unto the Lord, he heard, and saved them.* God sent his dolphins to attend them, and of these

they caught still one every day, which was enough to serve them; only on Saturdays they still catched a couple, and on the Lord's days they could catch none at all. With all possible skill and care they could not supply themselves with the fish in any other number or order; and indeed with a holy blush at last they left off trying to do anything on the Lord's days, when they were so well supplied on the Saturdays. Thus the Lord kept feeding a company that put their trust in him, as he did his Israel with his manna; and this they contiuued until the dolphins came to that change of water where they used to leave the vessels; then they so strangely surrendered themselves, that the company took twenty-seven of them; which not only sufficed them till they came ashore, but also some of them were brought ashore, dried, as a monument of the divine benignity.

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### *Foretelling of Things to Come.*

From relating of things past, it would no doubt be very acceptable to the reader, if we could pass to foretelling of things to come. Our curiosity in this point may easily come to a degree culpable

and criminal. We must be humbly content with what the God, in whose hands are our times, hath revealed unto ns.

Two things we shall venture to insert :—

First—For ourselves at home, let us remember the awful saying of our Goodwin, quoted by my reverend friend Mr. Noyes, in his late excellent sermon at our anniversary election.

"As you look for storms in autumn, and frosts in winter, so expect judgments where the gospel hath been preached; for the quarrel of the covenant must be avenged.

Secondly—For the church abroad, I am far from deserting what was asserted in the sermon preached at our anniversary election, in the year 1696 :—

"The tidings which I bring unto you are, that there is a REVOLUTION and a REFORMATION at the very door, which will be vastly more wonderful than any of the deliverances yet seen by the church of God, from the beginning of the world. I do not say that the next year will bring on this happy period, but this I do say, the bigger part of this assembly may in the course of nature, live to see it. Those things will come on with horrible commotions, and concussions, and confusions. The mighty angels of the Lord Jesus will make their descent, and set the world a trembling at the approaches of their Almighty Lord; they will shake nations, and shake churches, and

shake mighty kingdoms, and *shake once more, not earth only, but heaven also.*"

Unto these two things my reader will not misimprove it, I hope, if I add a third, lately fallen into my hands, and never yet so exposed unto the public.

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*A Wonderful Matter Incontestably Demonstrated, and much desired by some good men to be in this place communicated.*

Mr. John Sadler, a very learned and a very pious man, and a most exemplary Christian, lay sick in his bed, in his Manor of Warmwell, in Dorsetshire, in the year 1663; in the time of his illness he was visited by Mr. Cuthbert Bound, the minister of Warmwell.

Mr. Sadler then desired his man (one Thomas Gray) to see that there should be nobody else in the room, and lock the door, and give him the key.

He then sat up in his bed and asked Mr. Bound and the attendant Gray, whether they saw nobody? and whether they did not hear what a person said, that stood at the corner of the chamber? They replied, "No." He wondered at it,

and said, "The man spake so loud, that the whole parish might hear him."

Hereupon, calling for a pen and ink, he wrote what was told him, and made them set their hands to it; for he told them, "The man would not be gone till he had seen that done."

The articles written down were:—

I. That there would, after so many months, be a plague in London, whereof so many would die (naming the number.)

II. That the greatest part of the city would be burnt, and Paul's, he particularly showed him, tumbled down into ruins, as if beaten down with great guns.

III. That there would be three sea-fights between the English and the Dutch.

IV. That there would appear three blazing stars; the last of which would be terrible to behold. He said the man showed him the star.

V. That afterwards there would come three small ships to land, in the west of Weymouth, which would put all England in an uproar, but it would come to nothing.

VI. That, in the year 1688, there would come to pass such a thing in the kingdom, as all the world would take notice of.

VII. That after this, and after some further disturbance, there would be happy times; and a wonderful thing would come to pass, which he was not now to declare.

VIII. That he and his man (Gray) should die before the accomplishment of these things, but Mr. Bound should live to see it.

IX. For the confirmation of the whole, the man thus appearing told him, that he should be well the next day; and that there would come three men to visit him, one from Ireland, one from Guernsey, and his brother Bingham.

Accordingly, the day following, Mr. Sadler went abroad; and this day there accidentally met at his house, and so dined with him, first the Lord Steel, who had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and now returning from thence, in his way to London, came to see Mr. Sadler; secondly, Monsieur de la Marsh, a French minister from Guernsey; and lastly, his brother Bingham.

Mr. Bound and Gray, within three days after this, made affidavit of it before Colonel Giles Strangeways, and Colonel Cocker, who is yet alive.

Mr. Daniel Sadler, and Mr. John Sadler, the sons of this old Mr. Sadler, very serious and worthy Christians, are at this time living in Rotterdam; one of them is his majesty's agent for transportation.

Mr. Daniel Sadler, making his application to Mr. Bound for his testimony about this matter, the said old Mr. Bound, in a letter dated, Warmwell, Aug. 30, O. S. 1697, asserts the matter at large unto him; and subscribes, "This I shall testify

before the king himself, if occasion be, when he comes into England.

Yours,

CUTHBERT BOUND,

*Yet Minister af Warmwell.*

Mr. Daniel Sadler has this testimony further fortified, by a letter from one Mr. Robert Loder; telling him, that he had met with an old copy of the depositions aforesaid, which accordingly he transcribes for him; and several yet living in Dorcester affirmed unto him the truth of the story.

The copies of these letters are now in Boston, in New England.

Mr. John Sadler adds his testimony, that his father told unto his mother and himself, that he had heen told of remarkable things to come to pass, particularly the burning of London and Paul's; but that they were not acquainted with all the matters he foretold unto Mr. Bound and Gray. Only he remembers well they two were with him in his chamber alone; and his father went abroad within a day or two; and that (according to the sign he had given them) the three persons aforesaid visited him. He adds, that his father spoke of leaving in writing the things that had been shown to him; and that a little after he saw, once, a thin octavo manuscript in his father's study, which he believed had those things in it,

but after that he could never find it.—This testimony is dated in October, 1697.

A worthy and godly gentleman, at this time living at Rotterdam, and well acquainted with both Mr. Daniel and Mr. John Sadler, sends this to Mr. Increase Mather, in New England, with a letter dated 26th of March, 1698.

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Reader, I am not ignorant that many cheats and shams have been imposed upon the world, under the notion of communications from the invisible world; and I hope I am not becoming a visionary. But fancies and juggles have their foundation laid in realities; there would never have been impostures of apparitions, and of communications from the invisible world, if there never had been really some such things to be counterfeited and imitated. Wise men, therefore, will count it a folly, in its exalation and extremity, to deride all instances of strange things arriving to us from the invisible world, because that some things have been delusions. No, 'tis a wisdom thas is pleasing to God, and useful to the world, for a due notice to be taken of rare things, wherein we have incontestable proofs of an invisible world, and of the interest it hath in human affairs. The narrative of

Mr. Sadler is advantaged with such incontestable proofs, and containing in it such notable passages, that I believe I do well to lay it before serious men; and I believe no serious man will play the buffoon upon it.

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